The Nation.

THE NUCLEAR FREEZE LEGACY
Jonathan Schell

IRAQ IN FRAGMENTS
Chris Toensing
Charles Glass

WHAT WOMEN SEE WHEN THEY SEE HILLARY

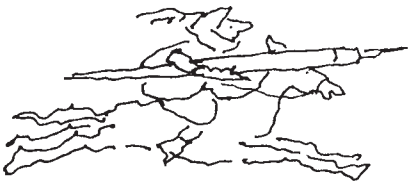
THE FEMINIST DEBATE OVER CANDIDATE CLINTON

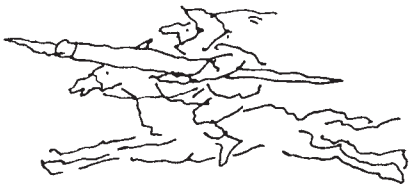
LAKSHMI CHAUDHRY

JULY 2, 2007
www.thenation.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS





R.O. BLECHMAN

THADDEUS STEVENS IN THE NEWS

New York City

■ I was sorry to see the June 11 lead editorial, "Sick Justice," mention Thaddeus Stevens in the same paragraph with Alberto Gonzales, John Ashcroft and Richard Nixon. The Great Commoner, as Stevens was called, was a lifelong advocate of the abolition of slavery and the rights of black Americans. He does not deserve to be linked, even indirectly, with that crowd.

ERIC FONER

Wilton, Calif.

■ Indeed, Thaddeus Stevens was quite ill during the impeachment vote on President Andrew Johnson. He did give the concluding argument but had to sit down because he was so weak, and someone else finished reading his remarks. I believe it was Senator Grimes of Iowa who was so sick he had to be carried into the chambers to cast his vote. This dramatic event was chronicled in John F. Kennedy's *Profiles in Courage*.

GRACE COOPER

'WIDE WORLD BEYOND THE LEFT'

New York City

■ Contrary to Katha Pollitt's June 11 "Subject to Debate" column, my books *The New Anti-Semitism* and *The Death of Feminism* have not "tanked." On the contrary, they have opened important doors for me to the worlds of heroic ex-Muslim and Muslim dissidents and anti-jihadist intellectuals, some of whom are conservatives and many of whom are feminists. Yes, Virginia, there is a wide world out there beyond the narrow confines of the left. Just because a book is not reviewed in *The Nation* or similar media does not mean it does not exist and has not attracted a serious and influential audience. How can a book "tank" and yet, in Pollitt's words, its argument take on "a life of its own"?

Contrary to Pollitt's dismissal of any experience that occurred "almost fifty years ago," contemporary Tunisian intellectual al-Atif al-Akhdar writes, "Why have the people of the world managed to mourn their pasts and move on, while we (Arabs and Muslims) have…our bereavement over a past that does not pass? Why do other people love life, while we love death and violence, slaughter and suicide, and call it heroism and martyrdom?" Akhdar describes Islamic cultural dynamics that do not seem to change. The dynamics I encountered in Afghanistan long ago remain and have actually worsened in many Muslim countries. I call it Islamic gender and religious apartheid. Feminists should be—but are not—calling for boycotts of those countries where this is practiced.

Pollitt does not come in for "unhinged abuse" in *The Death of Feminism*. Lawyers vetted the pages that document her bullying and intolerance on a feminist listserv to which we both belonged. I was not her only target, but she challenged me viciously and nonstop on issues ranging from my book *Woman's Inhumanity to Woman* (published by Nation Books!) to my analysis of RAWA as a marginal group whose political influence would have no future other than as dancing dogs among the American left. My views on anti-Semitism, Israel and religion came in for particularly scathing attacks. Finally, when I began to publish in *FrontPage* magazine and wrote a column in which I said I was merely thinking about voting Republican for the first time in my life, Pollitt led a totalitarian-like and successful purge of my presence on the listserv.

Unlike Pollitt, I take very little credit for my work on behalf of freedom in the Islamic world. The task is so huge. Pollitt, however, claims immediate credit for small and symbolic feminist gestures. It is too soon to congratulate ourselves for tasks we have yet to accomplish.

PHYLLIS CHESLER

POLLITT REPLIES

New York City

■ If Phyllis Chesler is happy that according to Bookscan *The Death of Feminism* sold around 1,000 copies in hardcover and 300 in paperback, who am I to dissuade her? Her book has had influence not because it is accurate or well thought out or well written—in fact it is execrable and full of spelling mistakes—but because a self-described feminist who attacks the women's movement is a godsend to right-wingers like David Horowitz and the editors of *The Weekly Standard*, who have no interest in women's rights except as an excuse to invade more countries.

Lawyers vetting her book is a joke—all that means is that I wouldn't sue, not that she wrote the truth. But for the five people in the world who care, the most vehement discussion involving Chesler on the History in Action list was provoked by her heavy use of unverifiable personal anecdotes in *Woman's Inhumanity to Woman*. The journalists on the list had trouble with that, and she took umbrage (although if memory serves, Chesler herself had raised the issue). Chesler was never "purged" from the list, which included many of her longtime friends. When it became obvious that she was planning to use material from the list in *The Death of Feminism*, people, including me, understandably felt betrayed. Chesler left of her own accord.

As for Chesler's imputations that I boast of small good deeds, I agree that the deeds are small. Still, it is hard to defend yourself against charges of selfish indifference to injustice and atrocity, except by presenting the evidence that the charges are false.

KATHA POLLITT

letters@thenation.com

NO ARM TWISTING, NO MEETING

Geneva; Brooklyn, N.Y.

■ Readers of Perry Anderson's April 2 review of two new books on the United Nations ["Made in USA"] will have noted the extraordinarily ad hominem nature of the piece and drawn their own conclusions. With the exception of one individual, Sergio Vieira de Mello, those cited in his review are alive and can answer Anderson's references themselves. Not so Vieira de Mello, for whom we worked at the time in question as executive assistant and senior adviser, respectively.

Anderson correctly describes Vieira de Mello as "reluctant to go" to Iraq early in the summer of 2003 as the special representative of the Secretary-General. "But an audience was arranged with Bush," Anderson continues, "and Annan dispatched him." Presumably this refers to an audience Vieira de Mello (rather than Annan) had with Bush, one aimed at overcoming the mentioned reluctance. We do not believe such an arm-twisting meeting ever took place. It would have to have been very secretive indeed. There was a meeting with Bush just before the US invasion. We were both at it (and at subsequent meetings that week with Rice, Armitage and others) and at no point was such a special representative role for Vieira de Mello discussed.

Anderson also describes Vieira de Mello's role as "to create a network of collaborators for the occupation." This is maybe more a question of interpretation than of fact. But that was certainly not the role Vieira de Mello (or the rest of us) intended to play. His main activity before his death was broadening the political discussion both within Iraq—including by bringing in parties the occupying power couldn't or wouldn't talk to—and abroad by extending this discussion to the capitals of the states neighboring Iraq. In all these endeavors, Vieira de Mello was motivated by a desire to insure that Iraqis had a meaningful say, rather than a purely symbolic role, in determining the future of their country, as well as striving to insure an early end to the occupation, a state of affairs he was on the record describing as untenable.

Curiously, having demeaned UN efforts in Iraq, Anderson seems to acknowledge the importance of the organization's work when he describes Vieira de Mello's murder—and let's not forget the murder that same day of twenty-one other UN colleagues and associates—as

(Continued on Page 24)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Printed June 13 Volume 285, Number 1

IN THIS ISSUE

2 **LETTERS**

EDITORIALS & COMMENT

3 US JUSTICE, EURO PRISONS

4 THE SPIRIT OF JUNE 12
Jonathan Schell

5 CURING THE ROT AT JUSTICE
John Nichols

6 ISRAEL'S CHOICE
Stephane Hessel

7 HEDGING BETS
Jordan Stancil

COLUMNS

6 DEADLINE POET
George W. Bush's Reception in Albania
Calvin Trillin

8 THE LIBERAL MEDIA
The Liberal Voice
Eric Alterman

9 LOOKOUT
Laboratory for a Fortressed World
Naomi Klein

10 BENEATH THE RADAR
Shots in the Dark
Gary Younge

ARTICLES

11 WHAT WOMEN SEE WHEN THEY SEE HILLARY
The feminist debate over candidate Clinton.
Lakshmi Chaudhry

16 WAITING FOR GORDON
Britain's incoming PM inherits a country transformed almost beyond recognition.
D.D. Guttenplan

21 FOR LIBERAL INTERNATIONALISM
Global peace requires national sovereignty and a concert of great powers.
Michael Lind

BOOKS & THE ARTS

25 NASR: The Shia Revival: How Conflicts Within Islam Will Shape the Future
NAKASH: Reaching for Power: The Shi'a in the Modern Arab World
TAKEYH: Hidden Iran: Paradox and Power in the Islamic Republic
ANSARI: Confronting Iran: The Failure of American Foreign Policy and the Next Great Conflict in the Middle East
Chris Toensing

32 HOWELL: Gertrude Bell: Queen of the Desert, Shaper of Nations
Charles Glass

Cover by Gene Case & Stephen Kling/ Avenging Angels; illustrations by R.O. Blechman and Tim Robinson

EDITORIALS

US Justice, Euro Prisons

In 2005, when the *Washington Post* caught the scent of CIA secret flights and "black site" prisons for terrorism suspects in Eastern Europe, the Bush Administration managed to intimidate the paper into keeping the names of the host countries out of its stories. Now, thanks to a report from the Council of Europe, we know why: not national security but sordid criminality.

In exchange for increased influence in NATO, Washington persuaded the "highest state authorities" in Poland and Romania to turn over detention facilities to US operatives who established what can only be described as torture shops: Prisoners were kept naked for weeks, chained to walls and often kept in "*solitary confinement and extreme sensory deprivation* in cramped cells, shackled and handcuffed at all times," sometimes at temperature extremes "*so hot one would gasp for breath, sometimes freezing cold*." The report confirms the CIA's reliance on "enhanced interrogation techniques"—*aka* waterboarding, sleep deprivation and other tactics condemned as torture by human rights organizations as well as the United Nations.

The report, compiled by Swiss lawyer Dick Marty for the council, was condemned by the Polish and Romanian governments, which denied the existence of the prisons. But Marty brings a wealth of evidence to bear: He interviewed intelligence officers and military officials, prisoners, attorneys and guards. He tracked flight records. His report adds substance and detail to a growing body of evidence documenting US illegalities.

The report only deepens the crisis in US relations with human rights–conscious Europe over the "war on terror" and further roils European governments and political parties already rent by official collaboration with illegal acts. That bitter debate is center stage in Italy, where the prosecution of CIA operatives accused of kidnapping imam Hassan Osama Nasr and turning him over to Egyptian torturers pits a prosecutor dedicated to the rule of law against Italian and US intelligence officials. Europe—where thousands are still haunted by memories of Gestapo, Stasi, KGB and Fascist prisons and decades of abuses in Northern Ireland—has struggled over the past twenty-five years to raise human rights standards throughout the continent, setting a high bar for membership in the EU and the Council of Europe. Officially endorsed rendition and torture chambers in the heart of Europe not only abuse the rights of suspects; they erode the continent's hard-won leadership of the global human rights movement.

If there is any glimmer of hope in all this, it is that Europe and the United States retain institutions and jurists with the integrity and good sense to stand against the authoritarian tide. A few days after the Council of Europe released the Marty report, a three-judge panel of the federal appeals court in Richmond, Virginia, handed the Bush Administration a stunning rebuke in the military detention of Ali Saleh al-Marri, a Qatar national living in the United States, whom the White House considers an "enemy combatant." Like the secret prisoners in Poland and Romania, Marri, in a brig in South Carolina, spent months in isolation without contact with family or lawyers and may have been tortured. The Richmond appellate circuit is famously one of the most conservative courts in the country. Judge Diana Gribbon Motz made it clear that by detaining Marri the President has violated every democratic norm. "To sanction such presidential authority to order the military to seize and indefinitely detain civilians," she wrote, "even if the president calls them 'enemy combatants,' would have disastrous consequences for the Constitution—and the country."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

The Nation.

EDITOR & PUBLISHER: Katrina vanden Heuvel

PRESIDENT: Teresa Stack

MANAGING EDITOR: Roane Carey
LITERARY EDITOR: Adam Shatz
EXECUTIVE EDITOR: Betsy Reed
SENIOR EDITORS: Richard Lingeman (*on leave*), Esther Kaplan
ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Richard Kim
WEB EDITOR: Joan Connell
COPY CHIEF: Judith Long
COPY EDITOR: Mark Sorkin
ASSISTANT COPY EDITOR: Dave Baker
COPY ASSOCIATE: Lisa Vandepaer
ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR: Peggy Suttle
ASSISTANT LITERARY EDITOR: Christine Smallwood
INTERNS: Molly Bennet, Michelle Chandra, Stephanie Condon (*Washington*), Michael Corcoran, Emily Douglas, Wes Enzinna, Rob Fischer, Elizabeth Schuster, Rebecca Tinkelman

WASHINGTON, DC: EDITOR: David Corn; CORRESPONDENT: John Nichols

NATIONAL AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT: William Greider

COLUMNISTS: Eric Alterman, Alexander Cockburn, Naomi Klein, Katha Pollitt, Patricia J. Williams, Gary Younge

DEPARTMENTS: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Arthur C. Danto; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Environment*, Mark Hertsgaard; *Films*, Stuart Klawans; *Legal Affairs,* David Cole; *Peace and Disarmament*, Jonathan Schell; *Poetry*, John Palattella; *United Nations*, Ian Williams; *Deadline Poet*, Calvin Trillin

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Kai Bird, Robert L. Borosage, Stephen F. Cohen, Marc Cooper, Mike Davis, Slavenka Drakulić, Robert Dreyfuss, Susan Faludi, Liza Featherstone, Thomas Ferguson, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, John Leonard, Michael Moore, Richard Pollak, Joel Rogers, Karen Rothmyer, Kirkpatrick Sale, Robert Scheer, Herman Schwartz, Bruce Shapiro, Ted Solotaroff, Edward Sorel, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener, Amy Wilentz, Art Winslow

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS: Ari Berman (*Washington*), Lakshmi Chaudhry, Christopher Hayes, Bob Moser, Eyal Press, Scott Sherman

BUREAUS: *London*, Maria Margaronis and D.D. Guttenplan; *Southern Africa*, Mark Gevisser

EDITORIAL BOARD: Deepak Bhargava, Norman Birnbaum, Barbara Ehrenreich, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Eric Foner, Philip Green, Lani Guinier, Tom Hayden, Randall Kennedy, Tony Kushner, Elinor Langer, Deborah W. Meier, Toni Morrison, Victor Navasky, Pedro Antonio Noguera, Richard Parker, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, Andrea Batista Schlesinger, David Weir, Roger Wilkins

ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, SPECIAL PROJECTS/WEBSITE: Peter Rothberg
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, DEVELOPMENT/ASSOCIATES: Peggy Randall
VICE PRESIDENT, ADVERTISING: Ellen Bollinger
ADVERTISING MANAGER, SMALL DISPLAY, EVENTS, CLASSIFIED: Leigh Novog
VICE PRESIDENT, CIRCULATION: Arthur Stupar
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Michelle O'Keefe
CIRCULATION FULFILLMENT MANAGER: Miriam Camp
PRODUCTION DIRECTOR: Omar Rubio
TYPOGRAPHER/WEB PRODUCER: Sandy McCroskey
PRODUCTION MANAGER: Timothy Don
NATION ASSOCIATES MANAGER: Peter Fifield
PUBLICITY AND SYNDICATION DIRECTOR: Ben Wyskida
EDUCATION/COMMUNICATIONS COORDINATOR: Habiba Alcindor
VICE PRESIDENT, WEB SITE AND TECHNOLOGY: Scott Klein
TECHNOLOGY COORDINATOR: Amiri K. Barksdale
WEB PRODUCER: Jason Das
CONTROLLER: Mary van Valkenburg
ASSISTANT TO VICTOR NAVASKY: Mary Taylor Schilling
DATA ENTRY/MAIL COORDINATOR: John Holtz
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT: Kathleen Thomas
BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Joliange Wright
RECEPTIONIST/BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Elizabeth Berniak
CLERK: Shavonne Frazier

PUBLISHER EMERITUS: Victor Navasky

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: E-mail to letters@thenation.com (300-word limit). Letters are subject to editing for reasons of space and clarity.
SUBMISSIONS: Queries only, no manuscripts. Go to www.thenation.com and click on "about," then "submissions" for a query form. Queries may be mailed to The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. SASE for poems.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the second week in January, and biweekly the third week of July through the second week of September) by The Nation Company, L.P. © 2007 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, L.P., 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. (212) 209-5400. Washington Bureau: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149, or call 1-800-333-8536. Publications Mail Agreement No: 40041477. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to Circulation Dept. or DPGM, 4960-2 Walker Road, Windsor, ON N9A 6J3. **When ordering a subscription, please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions**. Basic annual subscription price: $52 for 47 issues. Back issues $4 prepaid ($6 foreign) from: The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Member, Audit Bureau of Circulations. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149. Printed in U.S.A. on recycled paper.

www.thenation.com

The Spirit of June 12

Twenty-five years ago, on June 12, 1982, approximately a million people demonstrated in New York City's Central Park against nuclear arms and for an end to the arms race of the cold war. Nothing like it had ever happened before. It was not only the largest antinuclear demonstration but the largest political demonstration of any description in American history. Nothing like it has happened again, either. The tide of protest was at its high-water mark, and thereafter receded steadily.

June 12 was the culmination of a movement that had begun in the 1970s with resistance to nuclear power and then proceeded to nuclear arms. Its immediate objective, launched in early 1980 in a "Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race," written by antinuclear activist Randall Forsberg, was a bilateral Soviet-American "freeze on testing, production, and further deployment of nuclear weapons." In 1982 freeze resolutions were introduced in nine states and passed in eight; later, freeze resolutions, though in watered-down form, passed the House and the Senate.

Although the nationwide strength of the movement is rightly associated with anxiety produced by the nuclear buildup launched by Ronald Reagan, it is telling to recollect that the freeze was in fact born in President Jimmy Carter's final year in office. When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, Carter responded by announcing what became known as the Carter Doctrine, threatening the use of nuclear arms if the Soviet Union should attempt to move beyond Afghanistan to dominate the Persian Gulf and its oil reserves. At the time, the United States had no large conventional forces available in the Middle East to deter Russia, leaving nuclear weapons as the only military means available. None other than Paul Wolfowitz, who was Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Regional Programs, wrote in a "Limited Contingency Study" in 1977, "We…have a vital and growing stake in the Persian Gulf region because of our need for Persian Gulf oil and because events in the Persian Gulf affect the Arab-Israeli conflict." Thus, the Carter Doctrine initiated the long shift from cold war concerns to the preoccupation with the Persian Gulf that later would result in the two Iraq wars and now threatens a third war, against Iran. The recent refusal of not only George W. Bush but GOP presidential candidates Mitt Romney and Rudy Giuliani to rule out the use of nuclear weapons in a possible war with Iran seems to bring this long development full circle.

The reasons for the decline of the antinuclear movement are full of paradox and, in the last analysis, possibly unknowable. In part, it became a victim of its own success. Few riddles are harder to untangle than the relationship of the success of the freeze movement and the simultaneous success of its antagonist, President Reagan. It is a matter of record that the movement powerfully undercut public support for Reagan's nuclear buildup. According to a CBS/*New York Times* poll, between 1981 and 1985 support for increases in military spending dropped from 61 percent to 16 percent. It is a matter of record, too, that in response Reagan returned to nuclear arms negotiations with the Soviet Union.

But even more important, in March 1983, in part for the same reason, he startled observers, including most of the top officials

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of his own Administration, by proposing his Strategic Defense Initiative, known as Star Wars, to defend the United States from nuclear attack. When that was accomplished, he added in a second bombshell, the two superpowers, finding their nuclear weapons now "impotent and obsolete," could do away with them. The motivation for co-opting the freeze is well documented, yet so is the sincerity of Reagan's fervent desire not just to freeze but actually to abolish nuclear weapons. That sincerity was put on spectacular display at the summit meeting in Reykjavik, Iceland, in October 1986, between Reagan and Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, also a nuclear abolitionist. As memorandums of the summit show, the two leaders came within a hair's breadth of agreeing to eliminate their nuclear arsenals. Thus, in a sense the spirit of June 12 reached a high point and expired at Reykjavik.

The aftermath has been dispiriting. Arms control resumed and had some successes, but no fresh or bold initiative to deal with the nuclear danger has been launched. No heir to either the freeze movement or Reagan has arisen. The end of the cold war, seemingly the greatest opportunity to lift nuclear danger since 1946, was wasted. Instead, the whole issue fell into a shocking state of neglect, as if people believed that a mortal illness could be dealt with by forgetting about it.

In the years of silence, the unattended predicament quietly went haywire, assuming a malevolent post–cold war shape. Observing that the cold war powers, whatever they might say or not say, were determined to hold on to their nuclear arsenals, other nations—India, Pakistan, North Korea, perhaps Iran—determined to join the undissolved nuclear club. Whereupon the nuclear powers suddenly awoke to the danger and declared that these nuclear arsenals were intolerable. Having, in the early post–cold war years, mutely forgone the idea of negotiated nuclear disarmament for all, the United States soon turned to war as the ultimate solution to proliferation, and the Bush Doctrine of preventive war was born. There followed the Iraq War and, now, the threat of war with Iran, including the multiplying threats to use nuclear weapons. The wellsprings of change in public opinion are as hard to predict as ever. No one can say whether a June 12, or some twenty-first-century equivalent, is in the offing. That one is needed is beyond argument. JONATHAN SCHELL

Jonathan Schell, The Nation*'s peace and disarmament correspondent, is a senior fellow at The Nation Institute.*

Curing the Rot at Justice

With top lawyers and administrators resigning at an alarming rate, the scandal-plagued Justice Department is becoming an increasingly dysfunctional agency, a shell without credible leadership. Within that shell lies the rot of politicization, as evidence mounts that the Bush Administration has used the nation's chief law enforcement agency to undermine not just civil liberties but democracy itself, and so it shall be as long as the primary architect of the department's decline, Attorney General Alberto Gonzales, remains at the helm. Yet while he is as discredited as any sitting Attorney General since the 1920s Teapot Dome scandal, Gonzales clings to the power afforded him by the President and by a standoff between a White House that will not admit its sins and a Congress that is only now beginning to address the crisis with the aggressiveness it demands.

Make no mistake, the crisis is real. Things have gotten so bad that, when asked whether he'd return to the department where he served as a senior official under John Ashcroft, Viet Dinh said, "I'd rather trade places with [accused "enemy combatant"] José Padilla." Each day brings new revelations of abuses: using the authority of the department to achieve partisan goals, neglecting basic responsibilities to protect civil rights and civil liberties, blocking promotions of top lawyers because Vice President Cheney thought them more loyal to the Constitution than to the Bush agenda. Still Gonzales lingers, while capable lawyers leave—an exodus highlighted by the recent departure of Deputy Attorney General Paul McNulty. Senate Judiciary Committee member Chuck Schumer, who got a majority of senators to endorse an attempt to schedule an anti-Gonzales no-confidence vote on June 11, refers to McNulty as a conservative with a conscience "who at least tried to level with the committee." His departure is a blow to the morale of career lawyers mired in a department increasingly defined by ideological extremism, incompetence and the paranoia of Gonzales. House Judiciary Committee chair John Conyers Jr. says, "McNulty's resignation is a sign that top-level administration at the Justice Department may be crumbling under the pressure of ongoing revelations and what is yet to be disclosed."

The gross affronts to the rule of law committed under Gonzales go far beyond the firings of US Attorneys considered insufficiently aggressive in their pursuit of bogus "voter fraud" claims, or even the evidence that prosecutors may have kept their jobs by going after Democratic voters and officials. The Brennan Center for Justice and the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law have uncovered evidence of what they describe as "a much broader strategy on the part of the Administration to use federal agencies charged with protecting voting rights to promote voter suppression and influence election rules so as to gain partisan advantage in battleground states." There is now a compelling case that the White House used the Justice Department's Civil Rights and Criminal divisions and the Election Assistance Commission to create a false perception of widespread voter fraud to justify initiatives—stringent voter identification laws, crackdowns on voter registration drives and pre-election purges of eligible voters from the rolls—designed to disenfranchise the poor, minorities, students and seniors. But even as the evidence mounts, Bush continues to demand Senate approval of his nomination of a proponent of Justice's voter suppression strategy, Hans von Spakovsky, to sit on the Federal Election Commission.

The voter suppression drive is just one example of the White House's crude warping of the Justice Department's mission. Its dark plotting includes a warrantless wiretapping scheme that, we now know, even Ashcroft found objectionable—and that a growing number of Congressional Republicans see as confirmation of the need for a new Attorney General. But Bush and Gonzales are operating on the theory that if they pretend to be the victims of partisan bickering on the Hill, they'll be able to wait out the storm.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

Jerrold Nadler, who chairs the Constitution subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee, frets about the lack of urgency regarding the "overwhelming obviousness of the fact that this entire warrantless wiretapping is illegal and the President and Attorney General are engaged in a criminal conspiracy." Frustrated by Justice's refusal to turn over internal legal opinions and other documents on the domestic surveillance program, Nadler is talking about subpoenas, while Conyers says, "It's about time process kicks in somewhere around here." The restlessness of Nadler, Conyers and Senate Judiciary chair Patrick Leahy is understandable. They are responsible legislators who have tried to work with Gonzales and the White House only to be constantly stonewalled. Clearly, the Congressional response must be adjusted.

One answer to the question of how to take the inquiry to the next level has come from the grassroots, in the form of a campaign by filmmaker Robert Greenwald and the activist group Democracy for America, demanding the impeachment of Gonzales. Other strategies are likely to come first, including the more aggressive use of subpoenas, like those issued June 13 to former White House counsel Harriet Miers and former political director Sara Taylor regarding their roles in the US Attorney firings. Leahy and Conyers will exhaust those tools before taking up impeachment. But no matter what steps are taken, the point has been reached where polite words must be replaced by bold demands. Allowing Gonzales to remain as Attorney General will only further undermine the government's commitment to defend the right to vote and the right of Americans to be safe from illicit government spying—not to mention the prospect that the rule of law might eventually be reasserted at a department that still has "justice" in its name.

JOHN NICHOLS

Israel's Choice

Where the leaders of the State of Israel stand now, destabilized as they are by their recent failures, it becomes urgent for those who feel a lasting friendship for the inhabitants of the country to question its destiny. It should be obvious that pursuing a policy of military strength, rampant colonization and army occupation of territories conquered by warfare, and of brutal repression of Palestinian attempts to assume their identity, only blackens the image of a country that needs to find its fair place in the Middle East.

The Zionist enterprise, which labeled Palestine as a "land without a people for a people without land," has caused a great deal of harm and has irreversibly failed. Israel's policy is now more ambiguous, more Machiavellian, but equally bound to fail: On the one hand, it confines Palestinians to a number of small, highly populated areas—open-air prisons like the Gaza Strip and West Bank towns deprived of cultivable land, like Qalqilya, Bethlehem and Bil'in. On the other, it increases the Jewish urbanization of Jerusalem and its adjacent settlements up to the border of Jordan itself, closing off passage to West Bank Palestinians.

This policy violates UN Security Council resolutions, precludes the setting up of a viable Palestinian state and condemns the Arab population to misery and economic collapse, making it an all-too-easy prey, despite the eagerness for peace of most, to Islamist violence. As my generation clearly remembers, military occupations elicit staunch resistance and legitimize violence. Initiated by Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, this policy may have created the illusion of increased security for Israelis. But it only delays the dawning of a lasting solution, which requires the fall of the wall now being built in the occupied territories and the sharing of the land between a state for the Jews and a state for the Palestinians.

In April I met in Jerusalem with Arab and Jewish members of a coalition that fights against the transformation of that great and venerable city, equally dear to the three monotheistic religions, into a vast, densely populated, ugly zone deprived of its traditional Muslim presence. And I have wept.

I then went to Ramallah, where I witnessed the march of picture-holding crowds demanding the liberation of 11,000 prisoners, many of them held without trial in Israeli jails under conditions similar to those in Guantánamo. I have been received by the Palestinian Parliament, with members from both Fatah and Hamas, eager to entrust to President Mahmoud Abbas the task of negotiating a peace settlement with Israeli leaders.

Next I took part in a nonviolent protest march in Bil'in against the separation barrier, which illegally cuts in two Palestinians' fields and pastures. I have seen how young Israeli soldiers fire rubber bullets and tear gas at these weekly marches, which include peasants from surrounding villages, peace-loving Israelis and volunteers from ten other nations, including an Irish Nobel Prize winner.

Today I loudly cry, Beware!

It is time for the leaders of Israel to adopt a policy that the wisest and bravest Israelis (alas, still a small minority) have been urging for a long time: one that leads to a State of Israel with a strong Jewish majority on three-fourths of the former British Mandate, democratically governed and granting liberal civil rights to its Arab minority; and a sovereign State of Palestine on the remaining fourth of the land, getting trade and financial support from its Israeli neighbor, communicating freely with its Arab neighbors and having its capital in East Jerusalem.

The Israeli prime minister who would proclaim this policy and take the first measures required to open up discussions with the Palestinian president and international organizations, thus treat-

CALVIN TRILLIN

George W. Bush's Reception in Albania

They cheer him as strong and as clever.
Too bad he can't stay there forever.
The W. Library might
Choose Tirana as its best site.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing the Palestinians like respected partners and Arabs like reconcilable friends with a venerable cultural past, would insure for his citizens a future of peace and deserve the gratitude of History.

The Israeli prime minister who would pursue, openly or surreptitiously, the veritable ethnocide performed by his predecessors, the ugly features of which strike everyone who visits the West Bank and Gaza and sees the wall, and desecrated Jerusalem, will be consigning his people to shame. STEPHANE HESSEL

Stephane Hessel, who fought with the French Army and the Resistance in World War II, was imprisoned in the Nazi concentration camp at Buchenwald. After the war he served as a French and UN diplomat and was named a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor in 2006.

Hedging Bets

Hedge funds seem to have been designed as the ideal plutocratic villain for some novel of financial intrigue. These highly secretive investment groups control more than $1 trillion in assets but are so heavily leveraged that their total positions are thought to equal more than $3 trillion. The essence of their business is speculation, which they engage in on the basis of proprietary mathematical models that are guarded more closely than state secrets. The managers rake in obscene sums of money—the highest-paid made $1.7 *billion* in 2006. And yet they are virtually unregulated by any government.

The Bush Administration sees nothing wrong with this situation. For two years it has stalled efforts by Germany to push the G-8 to monitor hedge funds. The funds, and their private-equity cousins, are controversial in Germany because they've been "restructuring" many old-line German companies. Germany's vice chancellor has referred to the funds as "locusts," and the Schröder government started investigating ways to make the industry more transparent. Current Chancellor Angela Merkel has continued that effort, and the German finance ministry drew up plans for a code of conduct for G-8 leaders to approve at the June G-8 summit. But even a voluntary code of conduct was too much for the Bush Administration. In the end, the G-8 leaders did little more than agree to remain "vigilant" regarding the systemic risks posed by hedge funds.

The problem is that regulators don't even collect information about the industry they're supposed to be vigilant about. Since hedge funds are open only to limited numbers of big investors, they escape all the usual reporting requirements. Even the timid attempt by the Securities and Exchange Commission to impose a registration requirement was struck down by a federal court last summer.

The upshot is that this increasingly significant portion of the capital market—investment volumes have tripled in the past five years—is totally opaque, which recently led former SEC chair William Donaldson to call the hedge fund industry "a ticking time bomb that is going to blow up at some point." Since major banks and pension funds increasingly invest in hedge funds, the direct effects of this time bomb would extend well beyond the wealthy individuals who are typically thought to be the funds' main customers.

The hedge funds tell us not to worry. Instead, we should thank them for providing needed liquidity to the financial system. Of course, they do this by being so heavily leveraged, but they claim this is safe because their secret strategies are so flexible and ingenious. Regulation would hamper their ability to engage in these brilliant financial acrobatics, they say.

In fact, it seems that no discussion of hedge funds is ever complete without mentioning how complicated and sophisticated their strategies are, as if complicated things somehow deserve to be free of regulation. It is true that some hedge funds consult with Nobel Prize–winning economists and financial theorists. But the essence of their strategy would have been immediately recognizable to the provincial nail manufacturer in Stendhal's *The Red and the Black*, Monsieur de Rênal, whose financial acumen consists of "getting himself paid exactly what he's owed, while paying what he owes as late as possible." Rarely has the concept of leverage been more clearly explained. Nobel prizes aside, that's basically what many of the hedge funds are doing.

It's a strategy that works great right up to the point when it doesn't, which is what happened to Long-Term Capital Management (LTCM) in September 1998, when the Russian government defaulted and the hedge fund suddenly had to pay what it owed before it got paid. That led to an almost $4 billion bailout orchestrated by the Federal Reserve amid concerns by US financial officials that world credit markets would, as New York Fed president William McDonough quaintly put it at the time, "possibly cease to function for a period of one or more days and maybe longer."

The point here is not to engage in populist mockery of people who are in fact extraordinarily brilliant but simply to question the idea that they are morally and intellectually infallible. That's essentially what you need to believe if you want to categorically oppose hedge fund regulation, as the Bush Administration does.

Former Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin, hardly known for his hostility to capital flows, hints at this point in his memoirs, where he writes that his first reaction to the news of LTCM's collapse was to say, "I don't understand how someone like [head of LTCM] John Meriwether…could get into this kind of trouble." After all, Rubin notes, Meriwether was one of the country's leading financial minds, and he had two Nobel laureates working with him. But they were "betting the ranch on the basis of mathematical models."

As with any bet, the only way to be sure you'll win is to see into the future. Since hedge fund managers, like other human beings, lack this ability, and since it is widely accepted that their business poses a significant risk to the world economy, it is unclear how there can be a good argument against some form of regulation. The issue is not whether hedge funds are inherently good or bad. The issue is that the hedge funds' best argument boils down to nothing more than two words: Trust us. JORDAN STANCIL

Jordan Stancil is a PhD candidate in history at the Institute of Political Studies (Sciences Po) in Paris.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ERIC ALTERMAN

The Liberal Voice

On June 4 a federal appeals court concluded that the FCC's eagerness to charge exorbitant fines for accidental obscenities broadcast over the air was "arbitrary and capricious" and "devoid of any evidence that suggests a fleeting expletive is harmful, let alone establishes that this harm is serious enough to warrant government regulation." It was a rare and smashing victory for freedom of expression. Right-wing Republican FCC chair Kevin Martin said he was considering appealing all the way to the Supreme Court.

In the good old days, before one of Janet Jackson's breasts made its way onto network TV during the 2004 Super Bowl, the FCC was leveling obscenity fines of less than half a million in 2003 and only $48,000 in 2000. But the fines for Jackson's on-camera areola alone came to $550,000—giving Jackson's exposed chest a net worth of more than a million dollars (plus the still-undisclosed value of her nipples, which had remained concealed). That year FCC fines for dirty words and exposed butt cheeks skyrocketed to nearly $8 million. Then–FCC chair Michael "Son of Colin" Powell explained that this was prompted by a "dramatic rise in public concern and outrage about what is being broadcast into their homes," citing an exponential increase in citizen complaints.

This spring's case related in part to Bono's extemporaneous exclamation "fucking brilliant!" on NBC during the 2003 Golden Globes. In its decision the court referred to the fact that President Bush and Vice President Cheney had, in recent times, been heard using "variants of these expletives in a manner that no reasonable person would believe referenced 'sexual or excretory organs or activities.'" (Next thing you know, it'll be legal to shoot your friends in the face.)

Yes, fellow Americans, thanks in part to the potty-mouths of Bush and Cheney, we've won the right to curse, accidentally, on the public airwaves. And a good thing, too, because aside from all the sensible reasons this ought to be so, it turns out that virtually all of the opposition to so-called indecency on the public airwaves is as imaginary as the PBS animated bunny rabbit Buster, who scandalously visited a lesbian couple, upsetting Education Secretary Margaret Spellings two years ago.

An enterprising reporter for *MediaWeek* noted that according to FCC records, 99.8 percent of the complaints in 2003 were filed by L. Brent Bozell's Parents Television Council. Harnessing a technology it calls an entertainment tracking system, which logs "every incident of sexual content, violence, profanity, disrespect for authority and other negative content," including "even those minor swears," the PTC e-mails its members "offensive" video clips together with ready-made outraged letters to the FCC. Presto, an anti-"indecency" campaign.

But before liberals break out the Cristal, it might be a good time to re-examine our reflexive mocking of the prudery of those who object to the content they find streaming into their homes. You don't need to be a Christocrat to dislike the kinds of cultural messages communicated to children, teens and the rest of us through American entertainment culture. For instance, when Justin Timberlake ripped off Jackson's top, liberals mocked conservative hysteria over a single partially exposed breast. I did too. Far more objectionable was that Timberlake ripped off Jackson's clothing in what social critic Robert Wright described as "an act of stylized male sexual aggression, an apparent preamble to rape." This ought to offend all of us, particularly liberals, particularly parents.

Much of talk-radio is also a free-fire zone for verbal violence against women. Shock jocks Opie and Anthony recently featured a guest joking about raping and punching Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice in the face and other such acts on Laura Bush. Liberals are no strangers to condemnation of things that all sensible people reject; would it be so difficult to pay more attention to the outrages against what used to be called "common decency" by those who encourage attacks on our wives, daughters, sisters and mothers? Similarly, the disrespect for women, for our collective humanity, in so much "gangsta rap" shouldn't be censored but should be condemned by those of us who think of our wives, daughters, sisters and mothers as something other than "ho's" and "bitches." Hollywood producers and rap artists who celebrate violence against women should be shunned and condemned by liberals every bit as much as right-wing talk-radio is reviled for its racism, sexism and homophobia.

And what about the role of greedy corporations in glorifying antisocial behavior in teens and other impressionable people? Why, for instance, do we not protest when retailers plaster the subways with posters for the teen clothing line State Property Wear, which distinguishes itself with hidden pockets and gun holsters, as if to teach teens to admire jailed drug-dealing thugs and murderers? Why do we sit quietly by as the fashion industry fosters anorexia in young girls, sexualizes preteens and promotes the look of spaced-out junkies? Where is the liberal moral voice, I ask you, when it might be most useful?

* * *

I mourn the passing of my friend, and valued contributor to this magazine, Richard Rorty, who died June 8 at 75 of cancer. Like his role model John Dewey, whose pragmatist precepts he did so much to revive here and in Europe, Rorty was not only America's most influential philosopher but also a public intellectual, dedicated to the highest ideals of America's founding and its unfulfilled potential. His 1998 book *Achieving Our Country* forced many on the left—particularly in the academy—to reconsider what it meant to participate meaningfully as intellectuals in the life of the country. His faith in democracy, in the possibility of national self-improvement and in the vital role to be played in that drama by the reformist left will remain an inspiration to those of us who labor in the vineyards he so conscientiously tended. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NAOMI KLEIN

Laboratory for a Fortressed World

Gaza in flames; army camps springing up in the Golan Heights; a spy satellite monitoring Iran and Syria; war with Hezbollah a hair trigger away; a scandal-plagued political class facing a total loss of public faith.

At a glance, things aren't going well in Israel. So why, in the midst of such volatility, is the Israeli economy booming like it's 1999, with a roaring stock market and growth rates nearing China's?

Thomas Friedman recently offered his theory in the *New York Times*. Israel "nurtures and rewards individual imagination," and so its people are constantly spawning ingenious high-tech start-ups. After perusing class projects by students in engineering and computer science at Ben Gurion University, Friedman made one of his fake-sense pronouncements: Israel "had discovered oil." This oil is located in the minds of Israel's "young innovators and venture capitalists," too busy making megadeals with Google to be held back by politics.

But Friedman left out the backstory. In the 1990s, Israel was in the vanguard of the information revolution. After the dot-com bubble burst in 2000, Israel had its worst year since 1953. Then came 9/11, and new profit vistas opened up for any company that claimed it could spot terrorists in crowds, seal borders from attack and extract confessions from closed-mouthed prisoners. Within three years, large parts of Israel's tech economy had been radically repurposed. Put in Friedmanesque terms: Israel went from inventing the networking tools of the "flat world" to selling fences to an apartheid planet.

The key to Israel's supergrowth is not mysterious. Many of the country's young entrepreneurs are using Israel's status as a fortressed state, and its occupation of Gaza and the West Bank, as a kind of twenty-four-hour-a-day showroom—a living example of how to enjoy relative safety amid constant war. Now Israel is exporting that model to the world.

Discussions of Israel's military trade usually focus on the flow of weapons into the country—US-made Caterpillar bulldozers used to destroy homes in the West Bank and British companies supplying parts for F-16s. Overlooked is Israel's huge and expanding export business. Israel now sends $1.2 billion in "defense" products to the United States—up dramatically from $270 million in 1999. In 2006 Israel exported $3.4 billion in defense products—well over a billion more than it received in US military aid. That makes Israel the fourth-largest arms dealer in the world, overtaking the Britain.

Much of this growth has been in the so-called "homeland security" sector: high-tech walls, unmanned drones, biometric IDs, video surveillance, air passenger profiling systems, the training of border guards and interrogators. Before 9/11 "homeland security" barely existed as an industry. By the end of this year, Israeli exports in the sector will reach $1.2 billion—an increase of 20 percent. Israel has turned endless war into a brand asset, pitching its uprooting and occupation of the Palestinian people as a half-century head start in the "global war on terror."

It's no coincidence that the class projects at Ben Gurion that so impressed Friedman have names like "Innovative Covariance Matrix for Point Target Detection in Hyperspectral Images" and "Algorithms for Obstacle Detection and Avoidance." Thirty homeland security companies were launched in Israel in the past six months alone, thanks in large part to lavish government subsidies that have transformed the Israeli army and the country's universities into incubators for security and weapons start-ups.

Next week, the most established of these companies will travel to Europe for the Paris Air Show, the arms industry's equivalent of Fashion Week. One of the Israeli companies exhibiting is Suspect Detection Systems (SDS), which will be showcasing its Cogito1002, a white sci-fi security pod that asks air travelers to answer a series of computer-generated questions, tailored to their country of origin, while they hold their hand on a "biofeedback" sensor. The device reads the body's reactions to the questions and certain responses flag the passenger as "suspect."

Like hundreds of other Israeli security start-ups, SDS boasts that it was founded by veterans of Israel's secret police and that its products were road-tested on Palestinians. Not only has the company tried out the biofeedback terminals at a West Bank checkpoint; it claims the "concept is supported and enhanced by knowledge acquired and assimilated from the analysis of thousands of case studies related to suicide bombers in Israel."

Another star of the Paris Air Show will be Israeli defense giant Elbit, which will showcase its Hermes 450 and 900 unmanned air vehicles. As recently as May, according to press reports, Israel used the drones on bombing missions in Gaza. Once tested at home, they are exported abroad: the Hermes has already been used at the Arizona-Mexico border; Cogito1002 terminals are being auditioned at an unnamed US airport; and Elbit, one of the companies behind Israel's "security barrier," has partnered with Boeing to construct the Department of Homeland Security's $2.5 billion "virtual" border fence around the United States.

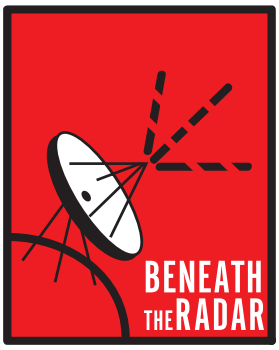
Since Israel began its policy of sealing off the occupied territories, human rights activists have often compared Gaza and the West Bank to open-air prisons. But in researching the explosion of Israel's homeland security sector, a topic I explore in greater detail in a forthcoming book (*The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*), it strikes me that they are something else too: laboratories where the terrifying tools of our security states are being field-tested. Palestinians are no longer just targets—they are guinea pigs.

So in a way Friedman is right: Israel has discovered oil. But the oil isn't the imagination of its techie entrepreneurs. The oil is the war on terror, the state of constant fear that creates a bottomless demand for spying devices and containment walls, whether in Gaza, in Baghdad or at the US-Mexico border. Israeli entrepreneurs have discovered, just as US politicians did after 9/11, that fear is the ultimate renewable resource. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GARY YOUNGE

Shots in the Dark



Brandon Martell Moore left the world in a shower of bullets followed by deafening silence. Brandon, 16, was looking at video games at National Wholesale Liquidators on 8 Mile Road in Detroit the Sunday after Thanksgiving when an off-duty cop moonlighting as a security guard kicked him and his friends out of the store, claiming they were not accompanied by an adult. The altercation that followed did not involve Brandon but ended in his death.

It was the middle of the afternoon in plain daylight; Brandon was unarmed; he was shot in the back.

The way Brandon's brother, who was there at the time, describes it, the guard was ruthless in his execution. "He put one arm on top of the other arm and started aiming at us," says John Henry Moore Jr. "He was shooting to kill. It looked like he wanted to kill all of us. Brandon wasn't even involved in anything. He was the last one to take off running, I guess."

Brandon was a quiet boy. According to his sister Ebony, the only time he made any noise was when "he was seeing a girl or making jokes." He and his younger brother were such devotees of *Beavis and Butt-head* that his mother had to hide the video so they wouldn't keep playing it.

"At the funeral lots of girls I didn't even know came up to me crying and said, 'I was his girlfriend,'" says his mother, Susie Burks, laughing. "There was a whole row of them there."

He had never been in trouble with the law before. But the man who killed him had. In 1971 Eugene Williams was involved in a fatal hit-and-run accident while under the influence of alcohol. In 1979 Williams shot a 31-year-old man dead during a neighborhood fracas. Five years later he shot his wife in the side during a domestic dispute, but she lived. Williams is also a Detroit cop. His badge number is 4174. At the time of writing he was still on the force. By any standard, you would think this would have been a scandal. But apparently not in Detroit. It took the city's two main newspapers less than 200 words to finish with the story in which they failed even to mention Brandon's name.

"We're deemed not reportable," says Clementina Chery, who runs the Boston-based Louis D. Brown Peace Institute, which assists families of victims as well as perpetrators in the immediate aftermath of shootings and works in schools to educate people about gun violence. "Black children are dispensable. Violence is expected to happen in these communities."

The Detroit police refuse to talk about it. The office of the mayor—the "hip-hop" mayor, Kwame Kilpatrick, who struts around with "mayor" embroidered on his French cuffs—has not uttered a word and won't return calls. When Brandon's father, John Henry Moore Sr., asked for the police report, the officer told him, "I'm not fucking giving it to you."

"Why would I want to live in a place where my son can't even be remembered?" says Brandon's dad, who has since moved. "That means he didn't mean nothing to this city."

The police version of the story is, of course, quite different from that of Brandon's friends. The police say Brandon was part of a gang of young men making trouble in the store, when one of the staff asked them to leave. "One teenager took off his coat and rushed the off-duty police officer," claimed Detroit police spokesman James Tate. "The others then got involved."

Given everything I know about Brandon and everything I know about Williams, I know who I believe.

An investigation into the killing in January ruled that it was justifiable homicide. When I called Williams at his desk on Detroit's traffic enforcement unit at Mount Elliott, he denied ever having heard of Brandon.

Thanksgiving was a big weekend for police shootings. In the early hours of the previous morning Sean Bell, 23 and unarmed, was leaving a strip club in Queens on his wedding day when five police officers unloaded fifty bullets into his car. They call it "contagious shooting." One cop fires. Then the others, believing the shooting is itself evidence of a threat, follow suit. Bell's death made headlines. For a young black man to be killed in cold blood by cops does not raise an eyebrow. Only the inordinate number of bullets makes it newsworthy.

For if the manner in which Brandon was shot was systematic, the way the City of Detroit sought to erase his memory from public record is systemic. "One of the reasons they can do that is because the press has written off the poorer parts of the city," explains Diane Bukowski, a reporter for the black newspaper the *Michigan Citizen*, without whose dogged reporting none of this would have been known. "A child can just disappear."

So in some ways Brandon's murder was just another banal fact in the life and death of America, where eight children aged 19 and under are killed by firearms every day—more in a year than the number who perished in the World Trade Center. Yet there is no war on this terror. The demand for substantive political change withers because it cannot find root in the legislative process.

The statistically relentless nature of these deaths creates an air of political inevitability about their cause. Just a few weeks before Brandon was killed, the Democrats took over Congress. Detroit Congressman John Conyers, who became the Democratic chair of the House Judiciary Committee, pledged he would not "support or forward to the House any legislation to ban handguns."

Gun control may have been removed from mainstream political conversation, but the guns are still out there. Some of the mobsters and madmen who wield them have badges—some don't. To those they kill it is a distinction without much of a difference. When guns claim lives in areas where any middle-class child might be—schools, universities, upscale malls—America mourns. When they are used in projects, barrios and trailer parks, it yawns. The shots ring out just the same. But no one can hear them in a moral vacuum. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES

WHAT WOMEN SEE WHEN THEY SEE HILLARY

THE FEMINIST DEBATE OVER CANDIDATE CLINTON

LAKSHMI CHAUDHRY

"I love [Hillary Clinton] so completely that, honestly, she would have to burn down the White House before I would say anything bad about her!" exclaimed Nora Ephron in a 1993 *Newsday* interview. Three years later, she told the Wellesley class of 1996, "Understand: Every attack on Hillary Clinton for not knowing her place is an attack on you." Come late 2006, however, Ephron was the one on the attack as one of the self-described "Hillary resisters"—those who believe that "she will do anything to win, who believe she doesn't really take a position unless it's completely safe," as she wrote on her Huffington Post blog, "who believe she has taken the concept of triangulation and pushed it to a geometric level never achieved by anyone including her own husband, who can't stand her position on the war, who don't trust her as far as you can spit."

This rather dramatic change of heart encapsulates one of the great ironies of Hillary Clinton's bid for the presidency. Many of the very same feminists who were her most ardent supporters as First Lady are now fiercely opposed to her historic bid to become the first female President of the United States. The woman once described by Susan Faludi as a symbol of "the joy of female independence" now evokes ambivalence, disdain and, sometimes, outright vitriol. The right wing's favorite "femi-nazi" now has to contend with Jane Fonda comparing her to "a ventriloquist for the patriarchy with a skirt and a vagina."

So what's up with the Hillary-bashing? "Women don't trust Hillary. They see her as an opportunist; many feel betrayed by her," wrote Susan Douglas in a May *In These Times* article titled "Why Women Hate Hillary." A month later, in her *Newsweek* column, Anna Quindlen declared, "The truth

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOBODY OWNS THE NATION.

Not GE. Not Disney. Not Murdoch or Time Warner. We are a wholly owned subsidiary of our own conscience.

This independence is why great writers have always used *The Nation* as an Early Warning System—to expose before it's too late the frauds, felonies and follies of the all–too–private enterprise we call Our Government.

And it's why week in, week out we're read by an audience as illustrious as our authors.

If you believe, as our readers do, that the highest form of patriotism is demanding to know exactly what Government's doing in your name, why not sign on today at this very low rate? You can save a lot—not least of which could be your country.

THAT'S WHY SO MANY SOMEBODIES READ IT.

Mike Farrell is a longstanding **Nation** *reader.*

SUBSCRIBE NOW
WWW.THENATION.COM/TRIAL-RATE
800-333-8536

(Legally speaking, of course, everything has an owner, but as a *Nation* editor once wrote, "it is one of the superb facts about *The Nation* that you can no more 'own' it than you can own the spirit it represents.")

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is that Senator Clinton has a woman problem."

Not exactly true, as it turns out. Hillary Clinton was the number-one choice of 42 percent of likely Democratic primary women voters in a recent Zogby survey, compared with 19 percent for Barack Obama and 15 percent for John Edwards. And her favorable rating among independent women is a whopping twenty-one points higher than among independent men.

Let's be clear: Hillary has a "feminist problem," and more so with those who lean left.

At first glance, the fault line dividing feminists in their view of Hillary Clinton is merely a matter of ideology. On one side are the mainstream moderate women's organizations such as NOW and EMILY's List, facing off against more radical progressive feminists, especially those opposed to the Iraq War. Some of her supporters claim that much of the anger is inspired by her now-infamous 2002 Congressional vote. "It's about this one vote, which was not to invade Iraq but to authorize the President to wage war. I can't understand how this can be held up against a lifetime of important political work," says NOW president Kim Gandy.

Antiwar sentiments run high indeed, but when it comes to feminism and feminists, the "Hillary divide" also mirrors a deeper debate over the relationship between gender and political power. The ambivalence over Hillary's candidacy has just as much to do with increasing skepticism about the value of making it to the top.

Hillary Clinton doesn't have a 'woman problem'; she has a feminist problem—and more so with those who lean left.

"Having a woman in the White House won't necessarily do a damn thing for progressive feminism," writes *Bitch* magazine founder Lisa Jervis in *LiP* magazine. "Though the dearth of women in electoral politics is so dire as to make supporting a woman—any woman—an attractive proposition, even if it's just so she can serve as a role model for others who'll do the job better eventually, it's ultimately a trap. Women who do nothing to enact feminist policies will be elected and backlash will flourish. I can hear the refrain now: 'They've finally gotten a woman in the White House, so why are feminists still whining about equal pay?'"

Jervis's views were echoed by her peers on the blog Feministing, where Jen Moseley wrote, "As women sign up to work with anyone but Senator Clinton, of course, they're being asked why. That's the bad news. The good news is they're all giving the same answer. Being a woman does not get you the automatic support of women. There's no vagina litmus test, people."

Simply breaking the glass ceiling, once a cherished goal of all feminists, has lost much of its appeal, especially after seven years of the Bush Administration. Over the course of his presidency, George W. Bush has appointed women to some of the most prominent positions in his Administration—all the while working to undermine women's rights across the board. So it is that we witnessed a fierce assault on women's reproductive rights even as Condoleezza Rice became the first African-American woman to make Secretary of State.

Opting for Edwards or Obama—who are often perceived as more liberal—becomes an attractive proposition for feminists who believe "gender is not the only thing, not even the most important thing in feminism," as Center For New Words program director Jaclyn Friedman puts it. "Hillary's not my friend. She's not actually progressive. The fact that she's a woman is an unfortunate red herring." Feminist principles may be better served, she claims, by electing a truly liberal candidate who will move us further toward a more progressive and therefore more equitable future—an imperative that feels all the more urgent after eight years of Bush. "Things are so bad in this country, and the person we elect is going to be so important," she says. "The whole put-a-woman-in-the-White House seems too abstract and theoretical, a middle-class luxury."

To be fair, the women and the organizations supporting Hillary are hardly advocating a "vagina litmus test." As Gandy points out, NOW has supported male candidates in the past and is now backing Clinton because of "a demonstrated history" of her commitment to feminist ideals. Even Laura Liswood, co-founder of the White House Project, which is dedicated to putting women in office, fully embraces the idea that women should vote their politics rather than their gender, "if the choice is between a woman who doesn't represent you at all and a man who does."

But Liswood cautions against undervaluing what she calls "the power of the mirror, of knowing who it is we can be by who it is that we see." By becoming the first female President of the United States, Liswood says, Hillary would "change the whole memory scan of young people, in terms of…what leaders look like." Even Condoleezza Rice, reviled as she may be for her conservative views, has done her bit for gender equality simply by virtue of the position she occupies. "It's an important social progression. You can't write these women off just because we highly disagree with them," says former Planned Parenthood president Faye Wattleton, who now heads the Center for the Advancement of Women. "It moves us toward a time when we can attack someone like her because of what she stands for and not because she is black or a woman, because we already know that the country won't go up in smoke because we had an African-American woman from Alabama as Secretary of State."

Clinton's supporters also argue that women candidates are unfairly subjected to higher standards, especially by women themselves. It's why antiwar feminist organizations like CodePink are less likely to give her a pass for her Iraq vote than they would, say, John Edwards. Explaining the reasoning behind their "bird-dog Hillary" campaign to *The Nation*, founder Medea Benjamin wore her double standard on her sleeve: "You expect more of a woman."

When it comes to presidential politics, this double standard also works in subtler ways. "There's not one man of either party who is at the top of the race right now who, if he were a woman, would be taken seriously," says White House Project's Marie Wilson. "We wouldn't tolerate the lack of experience or the marital history [of Rudy Giuliani]. If Obama were a woman,

Lakshmi Chaudhry, a Nation *contributing writer, is a Puffin Foundation Writing Fellow at The Nation Institute.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and I don't care how articulate or wonderful, we'd be telling her that she didn't have enough experience." Or, as Susan Estrich wrote in her 2005 book, *The Case for Hillary Clinton*: "Imagine if Hillary weren't a woman. She'd simply be the best-qualified candidate, with absolutely everything going for her.... If she were a he—Harry Rodham, let's say—the Democratic Party would be thrilled." Of course, come 2007, the party establishment is suitably enthused about Clinton. And for their part, progressive feminists would say that their problem with Hillary Clinton is not that she is a woman but that she has turned out to be no better than Harry Rodham.

Still, there's no question that Clinton bears an extra burden, not least because her victory would represent such a historic breakthrough. "The fantasy was that the first woman President would be someone who would turn the whole lousy system inside out and upside down. Instead the first significant woman contender is someone who seems to have the system down to a fine art," wrote Quindlen in her column.

'Women are especially hard on Hillary because...we all want her to be exactly like us, whoever we are.' —Nora Ephron

Yet most feminists recognize that the chance of a true-blue lefty becoming the first female President is about as likely as that proverbial snowball's. Much as we like to bemoan our nation's backward ways in matters of female leadership, the kind of women who actually make it to the top in other parts of the world—leaving aside Chile's Michelle Bachelet—are cut from the same cloth as their male counterparts. Susan Douglas may accuse her of epitomizing "the Genghis Khan principle of American politics," but Hillary Clinton is not a patch on dear old Maggie Thatcher or Indira Gandhi, and she's definitely left of Germany's Angela Merkel.

At least part of the problem with Hillary is Hillary, as in her outsized and often caricatured public persona, which makes it hard to figure out just who she is. Is she a misunderstood moderate, accused of selling out positions she never held? Ruth Mandel, director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University, certainly thinks so: "She is a centrist. She is a political pragmatist in the most solid American tradition."

Or is she a much-maligned liberal, whose Senate voting record on critical issues places her even with Obama and solidly to the left of progressive favorite John Edwards? So say the ratings of Americans for Democratic Action. Then there are those who label her the ultimate political operator, ever eager to trade principle for poll numbers. Her many critics certainly have no shortage of evidence to muster toward their cause. Claims made on either side of the "Hillary divide" are varied, confusing, often contradictory and sometimes compelling—perhaps because the debate over Hillary is very often not about Hillary at all.

In a 1993 *Time* magazine cover story, Margaret Carlson described the then–First Lady as "the medium through which the remaining anxieties over feminism are being played out." In 2007, however, Hillary Clinton's presidential bid is becoming a lightning rod for a debate *within* feminism, and over its goals. What do we liberated women want: to join the clubhouse or burn it down?

Forty years after the launch of the modern women's movement, there are still no easy answers to that question. And it is why, once you get past the rhetoric, the emotion Hillary Clinton most often evokes is painful ambivalence, even among her harshest feminist critics. "Women are especially hard on Hillary because she's such a Rorschach and we all want her to be exactly like us, whoever we are," said Ephron in a recent *Salon* article. But feminists will also just as readily acknowledge the high price of playing with the big boys, even when they don't like her one bit. "She tried to be something different [as a First Lady], and she was ultimately beaten into submission—by the media, the voters, the politicos," says Friedman. "I don't know what I would expect her to do. I couldn't expect myself to do better in the same place. I really don't."

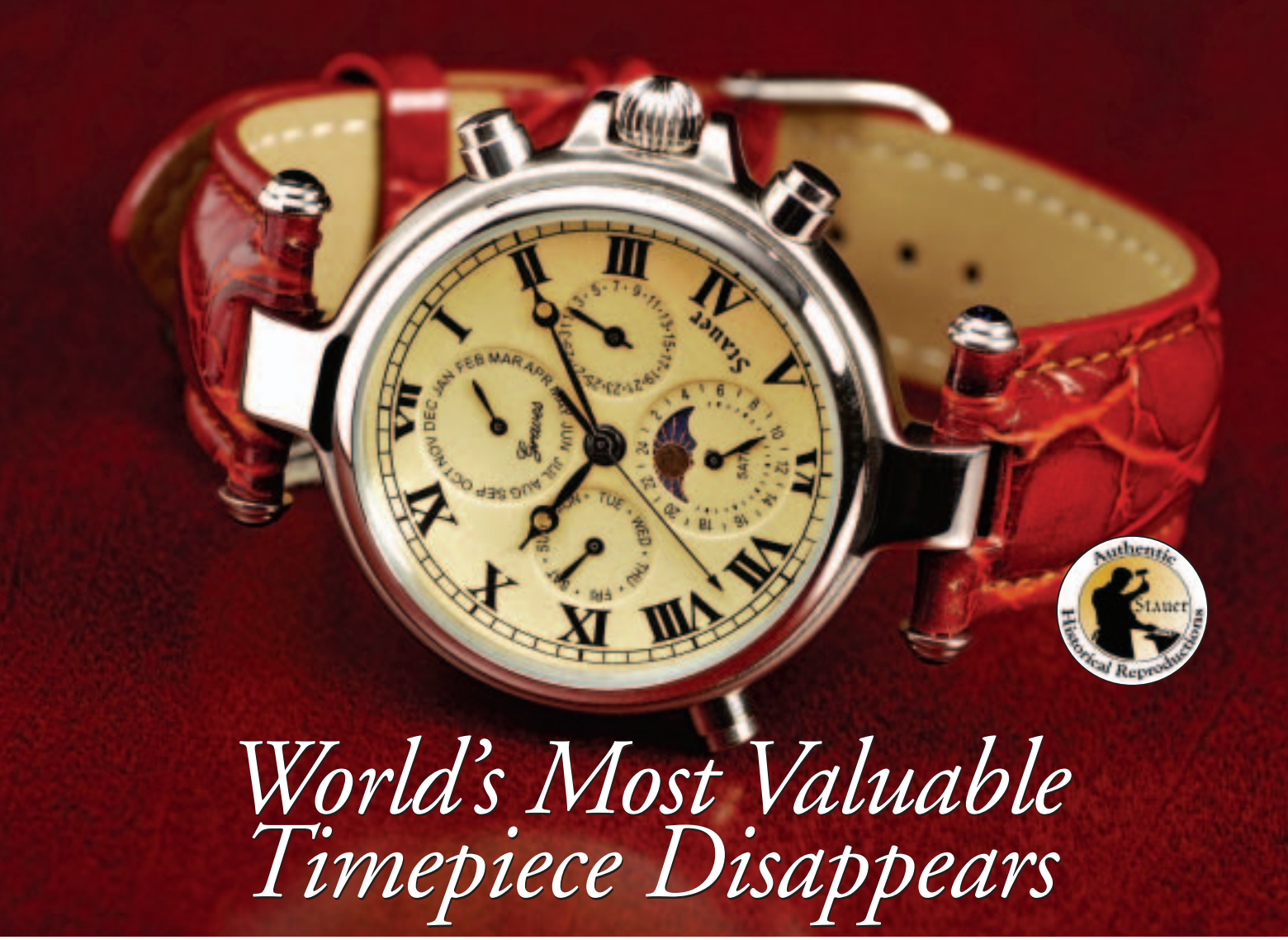
For all her skepticism about the value of electing minorities to high office and her personal affinity for Edwards, Jervis says she balks at the idea of voting for a white male in the Democratic primary when she has the historic opportunity to choose otherwise. "I'm not sure what will happen when I actually step into the voting booth and have to pull that lever," she says. But she has no doubt that if Hillary Clinton does make it past the primaries, "I know I'll have an emotional reaction to a Hillary candidacy. It is going to be meaningful to me."

Whether or not Hillary wins the nomination, makes it to the big white house or falls by the wayside, her admirers and critics alike understand that she has done far more than any of her predecessors for women in national politics simply by running. She is the first woman to be the frontrunner for her party's presidential nomination—with the blessing of the old boys' club, i.e., the Democratic Leadership Council, no less.

But equally important, as Faye Wattleton points out, whatever her failings, Hillary Clinton is no Pat Schroeder, whose 1988 presidential bid ended early and ignominiously in a flood of tears. "This is not a candidate who is going to dissolve in the enormous heat of presidential politics," she says. Over the past fifteen years, every aspect of Hillary's life has been subjected to the kind of scrutiny—and many times abuse—that would make male politicians cry. As the latest crop of biographies demonstrate, the media's appetite for Hillary "exposés" shows no signs of waning. Carl Bernstein's *A Woman in Charge* and *Her Way: The Hopes and Ambitions of Hillary Rodham Clinton*, by Jeff Gerth and Don Van Natta Jr., spend 1,000-plus pages between them re-examining every personal, political, romantic and sartorial decision she's ever made, often with unflattering results. And there will be plenty more of the same over the next year. "Someone who can conduct herself with credibility under that kind of scrutiny and hold up to it is definitely opening the door for a future woman in the White House. She must be given credit for that," says Wattleton.

Hillary Clinton is the first female candidate—love her or hate her—who is impossible to dismiss simply because she is a woman, even by Republican strategists like Frank Luntz, who offered this caution: "Put gender aside. Just treat her like you would any other candidate." It's not exactly the end of patriarchy, but it's surely reason enough for all feminists—left, right or center—to cheer. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



World's Most Valuable Timepiece Disappears

Back in 1933, the single most important watch ever built was engineered for a quiet millionaire collector named Henry Graves. It took over three years and the most advanced horological technique to create the multifunction masterpiece. This one-of-a-kind watch was to become the most coveted piece in the collection of the Museum of Time near Chicago. Recently this ultra-rare innovation was auctioned off for the record price of $11,030,000 by Sotheby's to a secretive anonymous collector. Now the watch is locked away in a private vault in an unknown location. We believe that a classic like this should be available to true watch aficionados, so Stauer replicated the exact Graves design in the limited edition Graves '33.

The antique enameled face and Bruguet hands are true to the original. But the real beauty of this watch is on the inside. We replicated an extremely complicated automatic movement with 27 jewels and seven hands. There are over 210 individual parts that are assembled entirely by hand and then tested for over 15 days on Swiss calibrators to ensure accuracy. The watches are then reinspected in the United States upon their arrival.

27 jewels and 210 hand-assembled parts drive this classic masterpiece.

What makes rare watches rare?

Business Week states it best…"It's the complications that can have the biggest impact on price." (*Business Week, July, 2003*). The four interior complications on our Graves™ watch display the month, day, date and the 24 hour clock graphically depicts the sun and the moon. The innovative engine for this timepiece is powered by the movement of the body as the automatic rotor winds the mainspring. It never needs batteries and never needs to be manually wound. The precision crafted gears are "lubricated" by 27 rubies that give the hands a smooth sweeping movement. And the watch is tough enough to stay water resistant to 5 atmospheres. The movement is covered by a 2-year warranty.

Not only have we emulated this stunning watch of the 1930s but just as surprising, we've been able to build this luxury timepiece for a spectacular price. Many fine 27-jewel automatics that are on the market today are usually priced well over $2,000 dollars, but you can enter the rarified world of fine watch collecting for under $100. You can now wear a millionaire's watch but still keep your millions in your vest pocket. Try the handsome Graves '33 timepiece risk-free for 30 days. If you are not thrilled with the quality and rare design, please send it back for a full refund of the purchase price.

The face of the original 1930 s Graves timepiece from the Museum of Time.

Not Available in Stores

Call now to take advantage of this limited offer.

Stauer Graves™ '33 Wristwatch

Three Payments of $33 +S&H

800-859-1736

Promotional Code GRV603-04

Please mention this when you call.

To order by mail, please call for details.

Stauer
Heritage of Art & Science

14101 Southcross Drive W.,
Dept. GRV603-04
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day **800-859-1736**

Visit us online at www.Stauer.com for the complete line of Stauer Watches, Jewelry and Collectibles

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BRITAIN'S INCOMING P.M. INHERITS A COUNTRY TRANSFORMED ALMOST BEYOND RECOGNITION.

Waiting for Gordon

D.D. GUTTENPLAN

Leicester

To the small knot of protesters outside the Peepul Centre, a new multimedia, multicultural performance space in Leicester, Tony Blair is already history. Chanting "Bush, Brown, CIA/How many kids did you kill today?" and waving signs describing Blair's anointed successor as GORDON BROWN, WAR CRIMINAL, they, at least, have moved seamlessly into the new era.

TIM ROBINSON

The crowd inside seems less certain. A kaleidoscope of Hindus from Gujarat, Muslims from Bengal, Kashmir and Pakistan, Jains and Sikhs, the women in saris, *shalwar kameez* and cropped jeans, the men in dhotis, Nehru jackets and well-cut suits, they clap politely as the Emmanuel Gospel Choir sings "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot." By the next census Leicester is expected to be the first British city with a nonwhite majority: The Diwali celebrations here are the largest outside India; Leicester's Caribbean Carnival is the biggest in Britain after Notting Hill. An appropriate setting, then, for Labour's first black, Asian and minority ethnic leadership debate. But with Brown now running unopposed for party leader, there won't be much of a debate. The choir swings into "Oh Happy Day," then stops abruptly. Apparently it's too soon to celebrate. The Chancellor of the Exchequer hasn't yet arrived. Like the rest of Britain, we are all waiting for Gordon Brown.

It's been a long wait. Ever since Tony Blair's impending departure was leaked to the *Sun* last September, Britain has been stuck in the political equivalent of sleep paralysis: The sensory organs are awake and registering distress while the body remains incapable of movement. The nightly news faithfully reports each new combat death in Iraq and Afghanistan. The government issues a White Paper favoring a massive expansion of nuclear power, and the Home Secretary proposes new antiterrorism laws giving police the right to stop and question any member of the public. Yet the predictable outcry—from environmental groups, civil liberties campaigners and British Muslims who already feel under siege—is muted by the sense that it's all a charade, a faked flourish of power by an administration whose days are numbered.

Though national elections are still probably two years away, Labour has been trailing the Conservatives in the polls for months. Regional and local elections on May 3 were a very loud wake-up call: The party's results in Wales were the worst in 100 years; in Scotland, Labour lost power for the first time in fifty years. And in council elections in England, Labour's total was worse than at any time since Margaret Thatcher was prime minister. A week later Blair set a firm date for his exit: June 27 Gordon Brown will take over as both party leader and prime minister.

He inherits a party—and a country—transformed almost beyond recognition by the past ten years. Until Tony Blair, no Labour prime minister had ever served two consecutive terms, let alone three. "By having sustained progressive government, which changes the center of gravity in politics, you can build a very different country," Ed Miliband, a Member of Parliament and key Brown adviser, recently told an audience at the London School of Economics. At the same event Neil Kinnock, who led the party to disastrous defeat in 1992, argued that for the first time in his life there were "widespread expectations of stable, durable affluence" in Britain.

Domestically, New Labour has always been better than its press—if not quite as good as its promises. British businessmen have learned to live with a minimum wage—at £5.35 ($10.50) an hour, more than double the US level and set to rise again in October. Giving fathers the right to take two weeks' paid leave—mothers get nine months—did not slow economic growth. Unemployment has remained low, and huge sums of money have been spent on schools, hospitals and the National Health Service (NHS). Thanks to the Civil Partnership Act, same-sex couples have the same legal rights as heterosexuals. Devolution has seen the return of local government to London, an assembly for Wales and the first Scottish Parliament since the 1707 Act of Union. Not to mention the recently resurrected Northern Ireland Assembly, where in May Ian Paisley, the arch-rejectionist of Ulster Unionism, and Martin McGuinness, a former leader of the Provisional IRA, began a power-sharing partnership that could scarcely have been imagined ten years ago. Summing up the case for the defense, Miliband noted that "an agenda [built] around large tax cuts, not caring about the environment, discriminating against gays and lesbians and black people"—an only slightly skewed summary of successful Conservative platforms during the 1980s and '90s—"now seems outlandish."

But there have been disasters at home as well as abroad. Cutting Labour's dependence on the unions meant Blair had to look elsewhere for party funding, and the rich businessmen whose company he found so congenial turned out to have agendas of their own. When, soon after taking office, it appeared that Formula One racing chief Bernie Ecclestone's £1 million donation to Labour bought the sport an exemption from the new government's ban on tobacco advertising, Blair was able to shrug off the damage. "Most people who have dealt with me think I'm a pretty straight sort of guy," he told the BBC, offering to make public the names of all Labour donors. It was a promise that returned to haunt him late last year, when Blair became the first serving prime minister in British history to be questioned by police, who were investigating whether £14 million in secret loans to the party—made as loans precisely so the names of party donors, many of whom were later nominated for the House of Lords,

D.D. Guttenplan writes from The Nation*'s London bureau.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Jomira's Best Sellers. Great Items, Great Prices*

***But read this entire ad for an even better deal!**

The spy glass that made naval history…

ADMIRAL FARRAGUT'S TELESCOPE

(with table top tripod) from us only $59.95*

• The optics of Admiral Farragut's Telescope are 25x30. This means that you get 25x magnification and the great light-gathering capacity of a 30mm objective lens. The scope is fully chromed (over brass) for extra beauty, protection and durability.

When Admiral Farragut fought his legendary naval battles he used a telescope just like this to monitor the movements of the enemies' fleets. This beautiful optical instrument, a faithful replica of the famous original, is about 5" long in its collapsed position and 13" when extended to full operating length.

Enlargement is 25x, which means that it brings everything 25-times closer, and in needle-sharp focus, than if viewed with the unaided eye. ADMIRAL FARRAGUT'S TELESCOPE comes with a belt-loop vinyl carrying case. There is also a table-top tripod for extended observations.

You have seen such zoom binoculars advertised nationally for $150…

6x to 18x JOMIRAZOOMS

from us only $99*

• JomiraZooms focus smoothly from 6x to 18x or anything in between, letting you see unexpected details. Porro prism construction and ruby-coated lenses are the best in optical construction. The 18mm objective lenses provide high light-gathering capacity. JomiraZooms come with a belt-looped carry case and strap.

JOMIRAZOOMS are the absolutely ultimate in binoculars. They fit in your hand and weigh less than 7 ozs. But they pack an enormous wallop in their small body. Porro roof-prism construction and ruby-coated lenses guarantee pinpoint sharpness at any distance. The 18mm objective lenses provide great light-gathering capacity making JOMIRAZOOMS utterly reliable even in the dim light of dawn or dusk. The zoom lever lets you smoothly change the magnification from 6x to 18x or anything in between. Are you watching the pitcher's windup on 6x? Zoom to 18x and you may be able to tell whether he is throwing a fastball or a slider. There can be nothing more useful for sports, nature watching, navigation, and so many other pursuits. JOMIRAZOOMS is an instrument that should be in every home.

The only universal optical instrument…

PANSCOPE

(the complete optical system) from us only $59.95*

• PANSCOPE is beautifully gift-boxed, comes with its neatly fitted leather case and with a plastic "tripod" for extended observations at 15x and 30x.

This is a little optical marvel. PANSCOPE (only 2" long) contains a complete optical system in its tiny body. You may use it as a 3x telescope or as a unique 3x telescope-loupe. In its magnifying mode, it delivers magnifiers and loupes at 5x, 10x, and 15x enlargement. And to top it all, it also functions as a 30x microscope of laboratory quality.

A special stand for long-term observation with 15x and 30x microscope is included.

This marvelous little instrument, developed in Wetzlar (Germany), home of famous Leica cameras, is the product of one of Asia's finest makers. Its coated optics are of superb quality, delivering the image with brilliant luminosity, in needle-sharp focus, with absolute clarity and with full chromatic correction.

Only your jeweler could tell for sure…

"PRINCESA" Faux Diamond Watch

From us only $49.95*

• "Princesa" is powered by a Seiko quartz movement, considered the world's finest. You won't have to change the tiny battery for about 18 months.

Here is another wonderful watch from Rodell-7. Our "PRINCESA" watch is studded with faux diamonds. Perhaps only your jeweler could tell for sure whether they are real or not. This gorgeous watch is powered by a Japanese Seiko quartz movement, which most knowledgeable people consider to be the finest in the world. You may count on accuracy of about one second per month. The watch comes with an adjustable link metal band that will fit any lady's wrist.

Make yourself happy or surprise the woman/women in your life with this wonderful present that she/they will enjoy and treasure for a lifetime. Order your "PRINCESA" Watch(es) today!

Hold the whole world in your hand with…

JOMIRASCOPE

8 x 20 monocular from us only $59.95*

• The optics of jomirascope are 8x20 – 8x magnification with 20 mm objective lens. it comes in a neat zippered c The objective lens can be used as an 8x magnifier. A 25x microscope attachment ($29.95, 3 for $59.90) is also available.

JOMIRASCOPE is so small that it fits unobtrusively in a man's coat pocket or a lady's purse. Yet it packs a tremendous wallop in its tiny body. Its 8 x 20 fully prismatic and hard-coated optics give you 8x magnification, with a remarkable field of 430 ft. at 1,000 yds. Its 20 mm objective lens affords unusual light gathering even at dusk or dawn. What was that rustling in the bushes? With JOMIRASCOPE you'll discover that it was an ivory-billed woodpecker. Do you wish to explore every feature on the moon. JOMIRASCOPE will be your instrument of choice. Much smaller than even "pocket" binoculars and with greater magnification than most, JOMIRASCOPE should be your constant companion. And do consider the 25x microscope attachment of laboratory quality, which makes JOMIRASCOPE a complete optical system.

An incomparable timepiece, an incomparable value…

RADIO-CONTROLLED CLOCK

Only $49.95*

• The sleek styling of R-C Clock makes it an adornment for any home or office. It works on one (included) AA-battery and is ready to go when you get it.

This beautiful clock is clad in brushed aluminum. Its sleek design makes it an adornment for any home or office. It measures 5-1/4"x 4" and can be set on your desk or hung on a wall. Time is displayed in inch-high digits. In addition to the time (hours, minutes, seconds), you also get the date, the day of the week, and the temperature in F (or in C). There is a melodious but insistent alarm, complete with snooze button for those extra winks. The clock is controlled by a radio signal emitted by a U.S. government department; that ensures up-to-the-second accuracy.

RADIO-CONTROLLED CLOCK works on one AA-battery (included, of course). It's ready to go when you get it. You don't even have to set it – it sets itself.

jomira

division of jomira/advance

470 3rd St., #211, San Francisco, CA 94107

*** And here is our "special deal": You may buy any three of these items -- mixed or matched -- for the price of two. The least expesnsive item is on the house -- absolutely FREE!**

You may order by toll-free phone, by mail, or by fax and pay by check or AMEX/Visa/MasterCard. Please give order code shown. Add $6.95 for ship./ins. for one and $9.90 for three items, except one JomiraZooms or one Adm. Farragut's Telescope is $9.90 and any three items containing one or more JomiraZooms or Adm. Farragut's Telescopes is $12.95. – plus sales tax for CA delivery. You have 30-day refund and one-year warranty. We do not refund postage.

For customer service or wholesale information, please call (415) 356-7801.

We ship the same day we receive your order. Please give order code Y849!

Order by toll-free phone: 1-800/600-2777, or (fastest!) by fax: 1-415/356-7804.
Visit our website at www.jomira.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

didn't have to be disclosed—amounted to the illegal "sale of honours." Blair's longtime tennis partner and personal envoy to the Middle East, Lord Levy (a former record company executive known as Lord Cashpoint for his success as a Labour fundraiser), was arrested in January, and though the steady drip of prosecution leaks seemed to stop once Blair announced his resignation, in early June it was reported that police now want a third interview with Blair—this time as a possible suspect.

Yet for all the taint of sleaze that has tarnished his final year in office, and despite all Blair's electoral and governmental achievements, his epitaph can be written in one word: Iraq. It would take a Shakespeare to do justice to the man who, in the terrible days after 9/11, seemed to be able to speak not just for Britain but for the whole resolute, reasonable Western world. While George Bush hunkered in his Nebraska bunker and Dick Cheney fled to "an undisclosed location," Blair promised that Britain would stand "shoulder to shoulder" with the United States in the coming fight. He even had the moral confidence to urge caution: "Don't kill innocent people. We are not the ones who waged war on the innocent. We seek the guilty." When he used the October 2001 Labour Party conference to assure Americans "We were with you at the first. We will stay with you to the last," the hall echoed with cheers.

Despite all of Tony Blair's electoral and governmental achievements, his epitaph can be written in one word: Iraq.

Iraq turned Blair from staunch ally to bloodstained accomplice, a Macbeth smeared with gore, whose latest defense of the charnel house that has engulfed Iraq was to ask us to trust him: "Hand on heart, I did what I thought was right." As if that were even remotely possible, after the revelations of the "dodgy dossier" on Iraq's alleged nuclear weapons, the secret agreement with Bush to invade while going through the motions of seeking UN approval, the fatally successful operation to discredit former UN weapons inspector Dr. David Kelly. Trust Blair? Recent months have seen not one but two plays, on stage and TV, showing Britain's "pretty straight" prime minister on trial for war crimes.

Would Brown have been any better? In 2005, campaigning for a third term, Brown told an interviewer that Blair had made "the right decisions" on Iraq. The recognition that, in Brown's words, "the relationship between a British prime minister and an American president must and should be a very strong one" is a fact of life for any British leader who wants his country to continue to punch above its weight internationally. Other options may exist. But Brown, who spent his honeymoon on Cape Cod, is even more instinctively pro-American than his predecessor. It is no accident that Brown's signature program for helping the unemployed get back to work is called the New Deal, his early childhood education initiative dubbed Sure Start (like Head Start) or that Labour's most redistributive measure, the Working Families Tax Credit, was inspired by the US Earned-Income Tax Credit (with much of the inspiration apparently coming via Miliband, who has a stint at Harvard's Kennedy School and a *Nation* internship on his résumé).

Neither man has shown any awareness of the immense cost of ceding so much of Britain's sovereignty to the United States: the festering wound at the center of political life caused by the war, and the pervasive sense of disenfranchisement and despair after a million people marched in the streets of London had no discernible effect on their government's policy. There is no counterpart here to the US Democratic candidates' debate on Iraq; no demand even to set a date for withdrawal. For the moment all three main parties seem to have agreed not to mention the war. Still, perhaps because for Brown the United States is not just the 900-pound gorilla of geopolitics but a real place, it is possible to imagine him less personally committed to George W. Bush, more willing to hear—and listen to—the voices of American dissent. Of course, that particular fantasy depends on there being significant opposition in the first place.

Meanwhile, back in Leicester, the candidate has finally arrived. Famously dour, today he seems elated, set free, like a widow who didn't really like her husband very much. As the choir resumes "Oh Happy Day," Brown lurches straight toward me, affable, grinning and seemingly intent on shaking my hand. It's only afterward, listening to him tell party activists "there will be no retreat to the comfortable policies of the past" (i.e., to the left) and "we will win the next election on the center ground," that I realize Brown couldn't even see me. Thanks to a childhood rugby tackle that cost him the sight in one eye, Brown is blind on his left side.

However suspect as a metaphor for his politics (I've also heard him refer unabashedly to "our socialism, credible and radical") Brown's injury seems to have had a significant effect on his development, giving a solitary, bookish boy a good reason to retreat to the library. The son of a Church of Scotland minister, Brown was a child prodigy who began high school courses at 10 and at 16 entered Edinburgh University, where he edited the student newspaper and took a first in history. Brown stayed on to write a doctoral thesis on the Scottish Independent Labour Party, and apart from brief periods as a university lecturer and a TV journalist, he has spent his adult life as a politician. First elected to Parliament in 1983, the same year as Tony Blair, in opposition Brown displayed an unnerving knack for getting his hands on key government documents contradicting Conservative ministerial positions. Ever since a deal that saw him yield his own prime ministerial ambitions to Blair in the mid-1990s, Brown has been waiting, sometimes with all-too-visible impatience, for Blair to step aside.

Despite his close association with Blair, and his own role as an architect of New Labour's drive toward the center ground, Brown has always had much stronger ties to the Labour grassroots. Activists and union members who backed Blair out of pure calculation speak of Brown with genuine affection. That no other candidate could muster enough support among Labour MPs to even get on the ballot for party leader is evidence of his strength inside a notoriously fractious party and would normally be an electoral plus. But these are not normal times, and Conservative party leader David Cameron, who at 40 is fifteen years younger than Brown, is no ordinary opponent.

Educated at Heatherdown (a prep school whose alumni include *The Nation*'s Alexander Cockburn), Eton and Oxford and married to the daughter of a baronet, Cameron has nonetheless

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Are You Happy? Sad? Jealous?

Understand the importance of our emotions in 24 lectures from an award-winning professor

Far from being routine, emotions are "the key to the meaning of life," says distinguished philosopher and author Robert C. Solomon, who in these 24 lectures takes you on a tour of his more than three-decade-long intellectual struggle to reach an understanding of these complex phenomena. Some of his conclusions are surprising and very much against the current of common sense.

Professor Solomon's lectures unfold as a rich dialogue with other philosophers, including Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, Descartes, Adam Smith, Nietzsche, William James, Freud, Heidegger, and Sartre. He also relates these views to contemporary work in the cognitive sciences on emotions. And he discusses the portrayal of emotions in writers and artists including Homer, Shakespeare, Melville, Dostoevsky, and Picasso.

Emotions Have Intelligence

By probing the ideas of these thinkers and presenting his own views, **The Passions: Philosophy and the Intelligence of Emotions** will lead you to a remarkable conclusion: Emotions have intelligence and provide personal strategies that are vitally important to our everyday lives of perceiving, evaluating, appraising, understanding, and acting in the world.

This idea runs counter to the widespread view that draws a sharp distinction between the emotional and the rational, and that views the emotions as inferior, disruptive, primitive, and even bestial forces. For Professor Solomon, many emotions are distinctly human, and they are far more complicated than mere "feelings." They are rational judgments—sophisticated strategies for survival.

One of the fascinating features of this course is that you get to see a philosopher wrestling with the ideas of his predecessors in a demonstration of the intellectual honesty required to make progress in tackling a profound philosophical problem.

© 2007 Jupiterlmages Corporation.

About Your Professor

Dr. Robert C. Solomon was the Quincy Lee Centennial Professor of Philosophy at The University of Texas. A recipient of both the Standard Oil Outstanding Teaching Award and the President's Associates Teaching Award, he was the author of more than a dozen books in philosophy and psychology.

About The Teaching Company

We review hundreds of top-rated professors from America's best colleges and universities each year. From this extraordinary group, we choose only those rated highest by panels of our customers. Fewer than 10% of these world-class scholar-teachers are selected to make The Great Courses. We've been doing this since 1990, producing more than 3,000 hours of material in modern and ancient history, philosophy, literature, fine arts, the sciences, and mathematics for intelligent, engaged, adult lifelong learners. If a course is ever less than completely satisfying, you may exchange it for another or we will refund your money promptly.

Lecture Titles

1 Emotions as Engagements with the World
2 The Wrath of Achilles
3 It's Good to Be Afraid
4 Lessons of Love—Plato's *Symposium*
5 We Are Not Alone—Compassion and Empathy
6 Noble? Or Deadly Sin? Pride and Shame
7 Nasty—Iago's Envy, Othello's Jealousy
8 Nastier—Resentment and Vengeance
9 A Death in the Family—The Logic of Grief
10 James and the Bear—Emotions and Feelings
11 Freud's Catharsis—The Hydraulic Model
12 Are Emotions "in" the Mind?
13 How Emotions Are Intelligent
14 Emotions as Judgments
15 Beyond Boohoo and Hooray
16 Emotions Are Rational
17 Emotions and Responsibility
18 Emotions in Ethics
19 Emotions and the Self
20 What Is Emotional Experience?
21 Emotions across Cultures—Universals
22 Emotions across Cultures—Differences
23 Laughter and Music
24 Happiness and Spirituality

THE TEACHING COMPANY®
"The Joy of Lifelong Learning Every Day"™
GREAT PROFESSORS, GREAT COURSES, GREAT VALUE GUARANTEED.™

About Our Sale Price Policy

[illegible]

SAVE UP TO $185!
OFFER GOOD UNTIL JULY 9, 2007

1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412)
Fax: 703-378-3819

Special offer is available online at
www.TEACH12.com/4ntn

The Great Courses
THE TEACHING COMPANY®
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232

Priority Code 23703

Please send me **The Passions: Philosophy and the Intelligence of Emotions,** which consists of 24 half-hour lectures and Course Guidebooks.

- ☐ **DVD $69.95** (std. price $254.95) **SAVE $185!** plus $10 shipping, processing, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Audio CD $49.95** (std. price $179.95) **SAVE $130!** plus $10 shipping, processing, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Audiotape $34.95** (std. price $129.95) **SAVE $95!** plus $10 shipping, processing, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Check or Money Order Enclosed**

* Non-U.S. Orders: Additional shipping charges apply. For more details, call us or visit the FAQ page on our website.
** Virginia residents please add 5% sales tax.

Charge my credit card:

☐ VISA ☐ ☐ ☐

ACCOUNT NUMBER EXPIRATION DATE

SIGNATURE

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

MAILING ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

PHONE *(If we have questions regarding your order—required for international orders)*

☐ **FREE CATALOG.** [illegible]

[illegible]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

acquired the public persona of a "regular bloke," a family man concerned about education and the environment who bicycles to Westminster and took paternity leave following the birth of his younger son. The lack of visible difference between the two parties on Iraq leaves Cameron free to cast himself as the real "heir to Blair"—a cocky young modernizer unfettered by ideology or history, temperamentally in tune with that electoral grail, "Middle England."

Much of this is smoke and mirrors. Cameron's one real attempt to pick a fight with his own party over his refusal to promise more grammar schools—state high schools for the brightest students with admissions based on a competitive exam at age 11, enormously popular with the Tory faithful, many of whom passed through them on their way to wealth and status—has become bogged down in trench warfare. And it was Cameron who ran Michael Howard's 2005 campaign, with its relentless focus on immigration and demonization of asylum seekers. Yet Cameron's attitudes on homosexuality, drugs, race and the environment seem to owe more to his cosmopolitan Notting Hill neighbors than to his party. He drives a hybrid car, recruited *Ecologist* editor and green campaigner Zac Goldsmith as a Conservative candidate and, until local planning officers forced him to remove it, had a windmill bolted to the roof of the family house. Yet what ultimately makes Cameron's professed devotion to state education and the NHS plausible is a circumstance entirely beyond his choosing: His older son, now 5, was born with cerebral palsy and severe epilepsy. Not even David Cameron is rich enough to raise a handicapped child in Britain without relying on special schools and the health service. (Gordon Brown's younger son was recently diagnosed with cystic fibrosis—a second blow to the family after their daughter, born prematurely in 2001, survived only a few days. But Labour politicians are expected to cherish the NHS.)

Neither Blair nor Brown has shown awareness of the immense cost of ceding so much of Britain's sovereignty to the United States.

Ahead in the polls, Cameron merely has to convince voters that Brown is no better than he is. If he can outmaneuver Brown on one or two issues—the environment or civil liberties—disgust with Blair and weariness with Labour may do the rest. Brown's task is more difficult. He has to win back the 4 million voters, and 200,000 members, Labour has lost since 1997. And here the absence of a contest for the leadership—which, though it could have embarrassed him, might also have raised his game—works against Brown. In Leicester the six candidates for deputy leader (a job with no constitutional role and just as much power as Brown chooses to delegate) managed an impressive list of ideas for reviving party fortunes, from a renewed commitment to build more public housing to the need for a forthright apology for the Iraq War. In a week when the Blairite Cabinet minister Margaret Hodge gave the fascist British National Party a bouquet by proposing that government pay more attention to the "legitimate sense of entitlement felt by [an] indigenous family" and less to the needs of new immigrants, their debate was refreshingly free of racist pandering. And the two candidates most identified with the party's left—Hilary Benn, overseas aid minister and the son of veteran dissident Tony Benn, and John Cruddas, a backbench MP—quickly garnered the most support from party activists.

As a Scotsman, Brown faces one more obstacle, partly of his own making: For Brown, Scottish devolution was both a worthy cause and a useful stratagem for heading off total independence. Scottish votes keep Labour in power; without them the Tories would have an unassailable majority. The Tories, officially the "Conservative and Unionist Party," are constitutionally opposed to independence. Yet no politician, including Brown, has ever come up with a satisfactory answer to what is known in Britain as the West Lothian Question—namely, why should a Scottish MP, representing a Scottish constituency, be allowed to vote on matters that, thanks to devolution, affect only England? The introduction of quasi-private foundation hospitals, for example, and university tuition fees—both rejected by the Scottish Parliament—were passed in Westminster with Scottish votes despite the opposition of a majority of English MPs. The May regional elections made Scottish National Party leader Alex Salmond First Minister in Edinburgh. A shrewd operator often on Brown's left—besides favoring independence, the SNP opposes the upgrading of Britain's nuclear-armed Trident submarine fleet, which happens to be based in Scotland—Salmond is likely to make matters as awkward as possible for his fellow Scot.

In theory Gordon Brown, whose only electoral mandate comes from the 42,000 voters of Kirkcaldy and Cowdenbeath, is entitled to govern the United Kingdom until the spring of 2010. In practice Brown probably has about eighteen months to make his mark. Pundits suggest "a hundred days" designed to swiftly distinguish Brown from Blair—and put Cameron on the defensive. If Brown does decide to hit the ground running, the obvious areas are Iraq, education and the health service. Announcing a firm date for the withdrawal of British troops, for example, would be a decisive break—and would probably win him points with whichever Democrat succeeds Bush. Yet such a move would be almost as much a repudiation of his own record as an admission that using private contractors to build hospitals and renovate the London Underground was an expensive mistake.

It is often said by his critics that Brown belongs to a generation of Labour politicians who, traumatized by the defeats of the 1980s and '90s, responded by concealing their true beliefs. It is certainly true that Brown and his circle know how to keep a secret. In 2005, when he announced an election-eve tax cut just big enough to completely discombobulate the Tories, not a hint leaked beforehand. It is just possible that Brown has kept his red underwear hidden all these years; it is equally possible, and perhaps more plausible, that his silence on Iraq, like his veneration of fiscal "Prudence" as a minor deity, betoken the soul not of a Bolshevik but of a bureaucrat. His defenders point to a decade of "redistribution by stealth" and his dedication to eradicating African debt; his detractors emphasize the stealth and note that Africa is a long way from Downing Street. It may be that the paradox of the left in power is that shifting the center ground to the left comes at the cost of a barbed-wire fence between the pragmatic and the utopian, putting genuinely radical solutions even further out of reach. At the moment nobody knows. But we are all waiting to find out. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GLOBAL PEACE REQUIRES NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND A CONCERT OF GREAT POWERS.

For Liberal Internationalism

MICHAEL LIND

TIM ROBINSON

The neoconservative foreign policy of George W. Bush is a catastrophic failure—this is conceded even by a growing number of neoconservatives. As an alternative to the Bush Doctrine of US global hegemony, contempt for international law and support for regime change by armed intervention, liberal internationalism ought to be enjoying a renaissance. Instead, the body of strategic principles that guided US foreign policy at its best during the twentieth century is threatened. The greatest threat to liberal internationalism comes not from without—from neoconservatives, realists and isolationists who reject the liberal internationalist tradition as a whole—but from within: from schools of thought that claim the title of liberal internationalism while jettisoning some of its fundamental principles. As is often the case with a creed, the heretics are as dangerous as the infidels. In the case of liberal internationalism, the heretics come in two schools: democratic hegemonists and liberal imperialists.

The democratic hegemonists advocate the global hegemony of a "concert of democracies." Among the spokesmen for this idea are Ivo Daalder and James Lindsay, both Democrats who endorsed Bush's occupation of Iraq. The most well-reasoned argument for this position has been provided by Anne-Marie Slaughter and John Ikenberry, both of Princeton and co-authors of a recent manifesto, "Forging a World of Liberty Under Law." Prominent in the 1990s, but less visible since 9/11, is the disproportionately British school of liberal imperialists, also called humanitarian hawks, including Britain's Niall Ferguson and Canada's Michael Ignatieff. Liberal imperialists argue that the United States and its European allies have a duty to invade, and if necessary govern, disordered societies in the interests of human rights and justice. The arguments of democratic hegemonists and liberal imperialists overlap to a considerable degree.

Members of both schools often call themselves liberal internationalists and claim to be "Truman Democrats," the genuine heirs of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt and cold war liberal Presidents like Truman, Kennedy and Johnson. Both of these schools invoke an older American liberal internationalism to justify the policies they propose. But both depart in one way or another from the historic American liberal internationalist tradition. Innovation is not always progress. The new liberal internationalism is no improvement over the old.

What is genuine liberal internationalism? It is neither a naïve idealism that ignores the realities of power nor a crude realism that ignores the power of ideals. While universal liberalism and universal democracy are its ultimate goals, the practical and immediate goal has been global peace. Enduring international peace is a necessary, though not sufficient, condition for liberal democracy. Why? In a world of recurring great-power conflicts or widespread anarchy, concerns about security may force even liberal democracies to sacrifice their freedoms to the imperatives of self-defense. This is what Woodrow Wilson meant when he said that the United States and its allies must make the world "safe for democracy." A world safe for democracy need not be a democratic world. It need only be a world in which democracies like the United States are not forced by recurrent world wars to turn themselves into armed camps.

If global peace is the goal of liberal internationalism, the means to this end are the self-determination of sovereign peoples and a global concert of power. Why sovereignty and self-determination? A world of many, mostly small and non-aggressive nation-states will be less dangerous than one of a few empires battling to carve up the world. Why a concert of power? World peace is possible only if the great powers are not locked in dangerous, expensive power struggles, hot or cold. The ideal of liberal internationalism therefore is a world organized as a peaceful global society of sovereign, self-governing peoples, in which the great powers, rather than compete to carve out rival spheres of influence, cooperate to preserve international peace in the face of threats from aggressive states and terrorism.

The UN Charter codifies the liberal internationalist vision of world order. The fundamental norm is sovereignty. Wars are legal only if they are fought in self-defense or authorized by the UN Security Council. The Security Council was intended to function as a concert of great powers cooperating to keep the peace.

The cold war paralyzed the Security Council, and the two superpowers repeatedly intervened in countries from Asia to Latin America, waging proxy wars with each other. However, when the cold war ended, conditions were propitious for the realization of the vision of a liberal international order based on sovereignty and policed by a concert of status quo great powers. But this vision had few advocates in Washington in the 1990s and early 2000s. Instead, the dominant schools of thought among the bipartisan US foreign policy elite rejected the norm of sovereignty and the strategy of US participation in a great-power concert. Sovereignty, it was widely argued, needed to be qualified or abandoned in order to permit enlightened outside powers to intervene in unjust or disordered states to promote human rights, democracy or both. And most Democratic and Republican foreign policy thinkers rejected the idea of a great-power concert, with the United States as a member, in favor of a strategy of converting America's temporary cold war hegemony into permanent US global hegemony, in one form or another. Neither of these alterations of the older liberal internationalism is an improvement on it. Sovereignty should remain the basis of inter-

Michael Lind, the Whitehead Senior Fellow at the New America Foundation, is the author of The American Way of Strategy *(Oxford).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

national order. And a concert of power, rather than a quasi-imperial Pax Americana, should secure international peace.

On the question of sovereignty, the older American liberal internationalism and its would-be successors differ dramatically. Unlike neoconservatives, democratic hegemonists and liberal imperialists tend to endorse the idea of international law. For example, the manifesto of Ikenberry and Slaughter is titled "Forging a World of Liberty Under Law." But the authors and others seek to erode national sovereignty as the basis of international law and to replace it with a new normative basis in the form of democratic government or human rights. Their purpose is to grant the United States, by itself or with allies, a license for invading and occupying sovereign states that have not engaged in cross-border aggression but have denied democracy or rights to their people. Ironically, contemporary China and Russia are sometimes denounced today by would-be American "liberal internationalists" for defending the idea of state sovereignty—that is, for taking the older, historic American position.

The radicalism of the critique of sovereignty cannot be overemphasized. As I have noted, the purpose of the liberal international system established in 1945 was to eliminate imperialism, not local despotism. The European empires, like the Nazi and Japanese empires, were replaced by states based—crudely and imperfectly, in many cases—on national self-determination. Few of the imperial successor states in Asia, Africa and the Middle East were democracies in 1945. But they did not have to be to participate in the UN General Assembly. They merely needed to refrain from aggression against neighbors. The dichotomy of liberal internationalism and illiberal imperialism is not to be confused with the dichotomy of democracy and dictatorship. Indeed, in the post-1945 liberal internationalist system, it is illegal for a democratic country to wage an unprovoked war against an undemocratic country.

The erosion of state sovereignty as the basis of international law gives the United States a license to invade other countries.

Those who seek to replace sovereignty as the basic norm of the international system make two arguments, one practical and one moral. The practical one is based on "democratic peace theory"—the idea that democracies are not aggressive, while dictatorships are. But what does the record show? Since 1945 very few dictatorships or despotic monarchies, however odious, in Latin America, Africa, Asia or the Middle East have attacked their neighbors. Saddam Hussein's Iraq, which invaded Iran and Kuwait and fired missiles at Israel, is the exception, not the rule.

The moral argument for sacrificing sovereignty to the imperatives of democratization or human rights is no more compelling. Liberal internationalists believe that all nations have a duty to promote human rights in other countries—but by means other than war. Exceptions to the norm of sovereignty should be made in the case of genocide and ethnic cleansing, which violate the principle of national self-determination. But these exceptions cannot be enlarged to include crimes of a lesser magnitude, such as massacres or lynchings or judicial murders, without whittling away the basic norm of sovereignty until it crumbles. The alternative would be to grant some countries—inevitably, a few great powers—a license to intervene in any state in which a government executes a dissident or massacres a crowd. Can anyone doubt that in most, if not all, cases the protection of human rights would be used as a pretext for great-power interventions whose unacknowledged purposes were strategic or commercial?

In addition to seeking to weaken state sovereignty to permit military interventions, democratic hegemonists and liberal imperialists reject the liberal internationalist strategy of the concert of power. In his 1910 Nobel Prize lecture Theodore Roosevelt declared, "It would be a masterstroke if those great powers honestly bent on peace would form a League of Peace, not only to keep the peace among themselves, but to prevent, by force if necessary, its being broken by others." In his address to Congress of January 22, 1917, President Wilson stated, "In every discussion of the peace that must end this war it is taken for granted that the peace must be followed by some definite concert of power which will make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe should ever overwhelm us again." In 1942 Franklin Roosevelt outlined his plan for what became the UN: "The real decisions should be made by the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and China, who would be the powers for many years to come and that would have to police the world."

Today's democratic hegemonists and liberal imperialists reject the idea of a peacekeeping concert among the great powers, including nondemocratic ones like China, in favor of the project of indefinite US global primacy or hegemony, which they share with neoconservatives. To be sure, many of today's would-be liberal internationalists do not make their commitment to US global hegemony explicit. The liberal imperialist school—more prominent in the 1990s than now—envisioned a US-European combination that would intervene militarily in "failed states" to promote "nation-building." But given Europe's low military budgets and lack of power-projection capabilities, the United States would dominate any liberal imperialist project.

Likewise, the "concert of democracies" proposed by Slaughter, Ikenberry, Lindsay and Daalder may be less a genuine concert than a camouflage for US hegemony. In "Forging a World of Liberty Under Law" Ikenberry and Slaughter propose that if permanent members of the Security Council (read: China and Russia) do not surrender their vetoes and adopt majority voting, a "concert of democracies" consisting chiefly of the United States, Europe and Japan should declare that it, not the Security Council, will henceforth have the power to authorize invasions to topple regimes.

According to Lindsay and Daalder, the traditional idea of a great-power concert including nondemocratic nations is unworkable because the "great powers often refuse to cooperate. Washington may think Beijing should use its economic clout to shut down Pyongyang's nuclear weapons program, or that Moscow should halt its nuclear dealings with Tehran, but China and Russia see their interests differently." Lindsay and Daalder unwittingly make it clear that the real purpose of the proposed concert of democracies is to provide the United States with subservient sidekicks whose role would be to rubber-stamp policies made in Washington, not genuine partners who might oppose US actions.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But other democracies do not always agree with the United States on questions like the Iraq War or Iran policy.

In practice the concert of democracies strategy looks like neoconservatism with a human face. The manifest goal would still be US global hegemony, supported by a US-European-Japanese-Indian alliance against China and Russia, as well as against lesser powers that oppose US hegemony in their neighborhoods, like North Korea and Iran. And while it takes international law far more seriously than do neoconservatives and the Bush Administration, the concert-of-democracies school would eliminate the provision of post-1945 international law that most irks neoconservatives—namely, the prohibition against military attacks on sovereign states except in rare cases of individual or collective self-defense or Security Council authorization.

What would a genuine liberal internationalist alternative to Bush's neoconservative strategy look like? To begin with, the United States after Bush should reassert sovereignty and nonintervention as the basic organizing principles of foreign policy. Sovereignty might be trumped, in the future as in the decolonization era, by the norm of national self-determination. The United States should support legitimate self-determination movements, with the caveat that in some circumstances autonomy within a federation may be more practical than independence. Many of these today involve Muslim nationalities ruled against their will by foreigners, such as Palestinians, Chechens, Uighurs and Moros. As in the Balkans, US support for such nationalist grievances would weaken the jihadist movement by depriving it of issues capable of mobilizing Muslim anger. Another exception to sovereignty would be the post-1945 ban on genocide along with a ban on ethnic cleansing. Lesser crimes against humanity should be punished but by means other than war and occupation, such as trade and travel sanctions.

A liberal internationalist America would repudiate the goal of US global hegemony, which is shared with neoconservatives by most democratic hegemonists and liberal imperialists. The United States will remain the leading military power for some decades to come. But American leaders would make it clear that the alternative to the competitive multipolarity that they envision is cooperative multipolarity—not a Pax Americana, however benign.

The final end of the post–cold war era and the beginning of a new era in US foreign policy would be marked by the gradual and prudent transformation of America's left-over cold war alliances into regional great-power concerts. Putin's authoritarian Russian regime deserves to be criticized for internal tyranny and external thuggery. But that should not prevent the United States and its allies from incorporating Russia into a pan-European security system. This could be done in one of two ways: by admitting Russia to NATO or, in the alternative, by elevating the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, which contains Russia and former Soviet republics, from a paper organization into a genuine military-political concert.

In East Asia the "six-power talks" about North Korea could become the basis of an enduring security concert that unites the United States, Japan, China, Russia and both Koreas. To deprive North Korea of a rationale for development of nuclear weapons, the Korean War should be formally ended and the alteration of regimes and borders by violence rather than consent on the

socially progressive banking℠
Personal Online Money Market Account
4.65% APY
balances of $25,000 or more
Get a great rate while you help finance community development projects with the country's leading socially progressive bank. Open your Personal Online Money Market Account today at www.wainwrightbank.com.
For more information visit our website or contact us at either mail@wainwrightbank.com or 800-444-BANK (2265).
WAINWRIGHT
banking on Values
www.wainwrightbank.com

Nation Mart
WHY DON'T MORE PEOPLE KNOW ABOUT
WWW.THENATIONMART.COM
ONE-STOP SHOPPING FOR EVERYTHING NATION
The Nation.
HELP TO GET THE WORD OUT. WEAR & GIVE THESE HANDSOME TEES - BLACK SOFT COTTON W/LIGHT TEXT.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Korean Peninsula should be formally abjured. The model would be the Helsinki Accords, which stabilized borders and reduced tensions in Central Europe in the 1970s. The United States should retain its bilateral treaties with Japan and South Korea but should add a bilateral treaty with China, pledging to come to China's support in the case of unprovoked attack.

The new Eurasian and East Asian concerts orchestrated by the United States could be joined by looser ad hoc coalitions including India in South Asia and local states in Africa and South America. In the Middle East the conditions for a stable concert of power do not exist. The second-best option is a balance-of-power policy in which the United States and other great powers intervene if necessary to prevent Iran or any other country from dominating its neighbors by intimidation, subversion or direct attack. To pursue this "offshore balancer" role, the United States should rapidly remove its troops from Iraq and minimize its military footprint in Arab countries. In Iraq, Lebanon and Israel/Palestine, the United States should act as an honest broker, seeking to mediate conflicts between rival ethnic nationalities, as it has done in Bosnia and Northern Ireland.

If there is a need for a global great-power concert, in addition to regional great-power concerts in which the United States takes part, then the rigid structure of the UN Security Council might prevent it from playing that role, even if all the great powers, including Japan, Germany and India, become permanent members. Foreign policy thinker Philip Bobbitt has suggested that something like a G-8 for security could serve as an informal great-power concert.

Since the cold war, American leaders, with particular radicalism under Bush, have repudiated the ideals of our midcentury statesmen and whittled away or rejected the norm of sovereignty while rejecting the idea of a concert of power in favor of US global hegemony. None of the arguments made by neoconservatives, democratic hegemonists or liberal imperialists against traditional liberal internationalism are persuasive. "The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society," Franklin Roosevelt declared in 1941. Liberal internationalism as the basis of grand strategy hasn't failed, for the simple reason that since the end of the cold war US leaders have pursued a different project. Now that the neoconservative alternative has led us into disaster and disgrace, it is time to give genuine liberal internationalism a chance. ■

LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)
being "politically the single most effective strike of the war." But this is a grudging acknowledgment wrapped up as it is in the offensively callous suggestion that Sergio's work in Iraq "inevitably" made him a target for killing.

JONATHAN PRENTICE
SCOTT L. MALCOMSON

ANDERSON REPLIES

Los Angeles

■ Inadvertently, Prentice and Malcomson's letter sheds further light on the workings of the UN under Kofi Annan. For it appears that Sergio Vieira de Mello's closest assistants were kept in the dark about his dealings prior to setting off for Baghdad. The meeting between an initially resistant Vieira de Mello and George Bush, of which they doubt the existence, is recorded by James Traub in his admiring biography of Annan. For UN cover in Iraq the Administration, Traub writes, "wanted Vieira de Mello, whom US officials had worked with in trouble spots all over the world. Condoleezza Rice asked him to come see her at the White House, and after pressing him to take the job, she brought him across the hall to see President Bush, who repeated the request. Vieira de Mello relented. Annan asked him to serve as his special representative for six months. Vieira de Mello offered three months, tops. They compromised at four. The special representative reached Baghdad on June 1." As for what Vieira de Mello proceeded to do when he got there, Traub could not be more explicit: "Over the course of six weeks, he persuaded reluctant leadership figures to identify themselves with the American regime." If his assistants were unaware even of who picked him for the job, it is little surprise they remain bemused about what it amounted to. PERRY ANDERSON

WHORES, WITCHES, DARKNESS

Waverly, Iowa

■ Lynn Randolph's May 21 painting, "Scenes From Hell," reminded me of the imagery used by St. John in the Book of Revelation and by the Protestant reformers who borrowed John's lurid imagery to make visible the violence beneath the velvet-gloved hand of imperial oppression. One potent image was the Whore of Babylon astride a seven-headed beast. She holds a cup containing the blood of the saints. John's image referred obliquely to the self-deifying Roman Empire and its bloody oppression. Randolph's use of similar imagery strikes me as wholly appropriate for the situation we now face in this country. BRIAN JONES

Brookline, Mass.

■ "Scenes From Hell," which reminded me of the works of Hieronymus Bosch, drew me in and had a powerful impact on me. Through my revulsion and fascination it slowly dawned on me: This is our world. It is not a fantasy. It is reality. A dark age is upon us.

GILLIAN ROGELL

Essex Junction, Vt.

■ If I want hellfire and damnation rather than reasoned discourse, I will go to the 700 Club. I share Lynn Randolph's horror at the carnage caused by the current Administration's dishonesty and ineptitude, but this has the odor of witch-burning. LINDA COSTELLO

WHY I LIVE AT THE P.O.

Webster, N.C.

■ I appreciate Teresa Stack's piece on the new postal rate case and how it affects small independent publishers ["Disseminate Information, Protect Democracy," May 7]. I am a postmaster in a small rural town in western North Carolina. I've watched the past twenty-five years as the Postal Service has gone from a mission of service to the American people to a wholesale sell-out to corporate interests. We are an important social institution, an integral part of the fabric of our communities. Instead we are transforming into another corporate hog engaging in the selloff of public assets on the cheap. We engage in the same sort of downsizing, bullying and contemptible management practices that have made corporate America so untrustworthy. The new rate case will undermine the core mission of the Postal Service.

The Founding Fathers knew what they were doing when they provided for an independent carrier of information and correspondence. I urge *The Nation* to look beyond the immediate impact of the new rate hike on your magazine. Look at the growing problem of the Postal Service, which is leading to its privatization and dissolution. MARK JAMISON

Kansas City, Mo.

■ I applaud your effort to expose the new postal rate hike for what it does to the small publisher. For publications accustomed to mailing at nonprofit rates, this hike is at more than 50 percent. It is threatening my livelihood as a printer. I have several small organizations that fly under the radar. Going to kill a few of 'em. And me too… STEVE CONKLIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS

Persian Ghosts

CHRIS TOENSING

In the middle months of 2006, as Iraq plunged into what increasingly looked like civil war, a new parlor game captivated the cognoscenti. Which Iraqi Muslims are Sunnis and which ones are Shiites? And which ones are on America's side? The questions could be asked of people throughout the Islamic world—particularly given the undercurrent of intra-Islamic strife during last summer's Lebanon war, when Saudi Arabia led Sunni Arab regimes in denouncing the "adventurism" of Shiite Hezbollah and Iran—and the answers seemed far from trivial. So the smart set was both bemused and appalled to learn, via the investigations of *Congressional Quarterly* gumshoe Jeff Stein, that the FBI's national security bureau chief mistook Hezbollah for a Sunni party and that Representative Silvestre Reyes, new Democratic chair of the House Intelligence Committee, thought Sunni Al Qaeda just might be Shiite.

As if on command, the nation's newspapers and magazines generated a flurry of "refresher courses" on the two main branches of Islam. The primers, though sometimes adopting a lighthearted tone, usually closed on a serious note. The general upshot was to tacitly ascribe the real difficulty in Iraq (and the region as a whole) to an epic quarrel between Sunnism and Shiism over "the soul of Islam." The cover story in the March 5 edition of *Time* was exemplary for its forthrightness: "Why They Hate Each Other: What's really driving the civil war that's tearing the Middle East apart." One could find the proximate cause in any number of events following the US invasion, *Time* writer Bobby Ghosh conceded. "But the rage burning," he continued, "has much deeper and older roots. It is the product of centuries of social, political and economic inequality, imposed by repression and prejudice and frequently reinforced by bloodshed." And though "the hatred is not principally about religion," it dates all the way back to 632 AD, when the Prophet Muhammad died before designating a successor and a vocal minority championed his cousin and son-in-law Ali. Ali eventually served as the fourth caliph, but enmity between the partisans of Ali (in Arabic, *Shiat Ali*, the expression eventually rendered in the West as Shiites) and Sunnis was cemented after 680, when the son of the governor of Syria killed Ali's son Hussein at the battle of Karbala in modern-day Iraq. For the Muslims who came to be known as Shiites, the caliphate had been unjustly wrested from the blood relatives of the Prophet.

There is something convenient, of course, about the invocation of a primordial discord among Iraqis to explain "what's really driving" the ever-widening cataclysm in Iraq. If they have hated each other since 632, after all, it cannot be anyone else's fault—and certainly not America's—that they are killing each other now. (One is eerily reminded of Robert Kaplan's claim in *Balkan Ghosts* that the war in Bosnia was driven by ancient hatreds—a claim that gave one influential reader, President Bill Clinton, a pretext for delaying intervention on behalf of Bosnian Muslims facing ethnic cleansing.) Some ardent war supporters, like Charles Krauthammer, have espoused this narrative as one more prophylactic against admitting errors of their own. "We have given the Iraqis a republic," Krauthammer archly observed, "and they do not appear

BOOKS DISCUSSED IN THIS ESSAY

THE SHIA REVIVAL: How Conflicts Within Islam Will Shape the Future.
By Vali Nasr.
Norton. 310 pp. Paper $14.95.

REACHING FOR POWER: The Shi'a in the Modern Arab World.
By Yitzhak Nakash.
Princeton. 226 pp. $19.95.

HIDDEN IRAN: Paradox and Power in the Islamic Republic.
By Ray Takeyh.
Times. 259 pp. $25.

CONFRONTING IRAN: The Failure of American Foreign Policy and the Next Great Conflict in the Middle East.
By Ali Ansari.
Basic. 280 pp. $26.

Chris Toensing is editor of Middle East Report, *published by the Middle East Research and Information Project (www.merip.org).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

able to keep it." Depending on one's perspective, the Sunni-Shiite split can be a reason for the US military to stay indefinitely (to prevent mass slaughter) or for Defense Secretary Robert Gates to tell Iraqi officials "the clock is ticking" on the US deployment (because Americans' patience with the war is wearing thin) or for the troops to depart as soon as possible (because Iraqis are bent on internecine squabbling no matter how much the United States "gives" them). More than one erstwhile Republican chest thumper in Congress, seeking to justify opposition to President George W. Bush's "surge," has taken the blame-the-Iraqis trail blazed by Democrats seeking "phased redeployment."

Explaining Iraq's civil war as the natural unfolding of 'sectarianism' is as glib as viewing the Balkans in terms of 'ancient hatreds.'

Middle Eastern affairs outside Iraq's borders, meanwhile, resist comprehension through the prism of sectarian tensions. A more circumspect hawk than Krauthammer, David Brooks recently lamented that not even civil war in Iraq can distract "self-destructive" Arabs determined to blame Israel for everything. While Hezbollah is resented by many Sunnis in Lebanon and feared by Sunni Arab states, the Shiite party (along with its Iranian patron) has long been popular among ordinary Sunnis from Algiers to Cairo to Gaza City—and never more so than while standing its ground against Israel (and its American patron) in the summer of 2006. Surveying the scene of Washington's "two alliances," with a Shiite-dominated government opposed by a Sunni insurgency in Iraq and with Sunni Arab governments confronting feisty Shiites in Lebanon and Iran, Edward Luttwak discerned a strategy of "divide and rule, the classic formula for imperial power on the cheap. The ancient antipathy between Sunni and Shiite has become a dynamic conflict, not just within Iraq but across the Middle East, and key protagonists on each side seek the support of American power." Luttwak holds this strategy to be the accidental byproduct of the Bush Administration's ideological crusade in Iraq; he is right about that, even if he is smugly cavalier about the consequences. But in the Middle East, a sizable swath of public opinion, given voice by Hezbollah Secretary-General Hassan Nasrallah himself, believes the consequences to be intentional.

The grim realities of intercommunal civil war and sectarian cleansing in Iraq are inescapable. Despite the "surge," Shiites are regularly blown up in marketplaces and mosques, often in the name of Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia, and young Sunni men are still falling victim to Shiite death squads. The 2 million Iraqis who have fled their country tell reporters and aid workers of being marked for murder because of their sectarian affiliation. There is no doubt, as well, that Sunni-Shiite tensions across the region are higher than at any time since the Islamic Revolution in Iran—and perhaps before. One obvious reason is the Iraq War, with its empowerment of self-consciously Shiite religious parties in Baghdad, many of whose leaders whiled away their long exile in Iran before tailing US tanks back to the Tigris, thus pushing the hot buttons of Sunni Arab governments and the street at the same time. Another is the corresponding rise of Iran, much of whose hard-line leadership harbors the original revolutionary aspiration to lead the Islamic world, not least in its quest for the nuclear fuel cycle. But does something else lie beneath it all?

Vali Nasr, a professor at the Naval Postgraduate School, has an affirmative reply. The success of his bestselling and increasingly influential book *The Shia Revival* has earned him multiple invitations to testify before Congress, a place on the program of a June 2006 Council on Foreign Relations symposium on the "Emerging Shia Crescent," easy access to op-ed pages and even a profile in the *Wall Street Journal*. According to the *Journal*, evangelical leader Richard Land, a rally captain of Bush's electoral base, stopped Nasr after a Washington briefing to tell him, "That was the most coherent, in-depth and incisive discussion of the religious situation in the Middle East that I've heard in any setting." Added penitent neoconservative Francis Fukuyama: "The problem with the current Middle East debate is it's completely stuck. Nobody knows what to do. Vali Nasr offers a plausible alternative that may gain traction."

That alternative consists of a diagnosis of the region's ills and a prognosis for US grand strategy. The malady is what Nasr calls the "age-old scourge" of the Sunni-Shiite conflict within Islam—or, more precisely, the thousand-year oppression of Shiites by Sunnis, manifested at both the official and popular levels. Throughout history, most Muslim rulers, including the overseers of the powerful Umayyad, Abbasid, Ottoman and Mughal empires, have been Sunni. One formidable Shiite dynasty of the past, the Fatimid, was eventually vanquished by Sunnis, while another, the Safavid, spent most of its existence battling the Sunni states on its frontiers. (A third, the Zaydi imamate in Yemen, was isolated from the Muslim heartland.) The Shiite clergy in Sunni-dominated lands holed up in the mountains of southern Lebanon and in the shrine cities of Najaf and Karbala, desert towns that were fairly remote until they were linked to the Euphrates by canals in the nineteenth century. There the clerics mostly refrained from becoming involved in affairs of state, awaiting the appearance of the Prophet Muhammad's descendant, the Mahdi, who they believed would unify Muslims under righteous religious and political authority once more. Nevertheless, since the sack of Abbasid Baghdad by invading Mongols in 1258, allegedly facilitated by a Shiite vizier named Ibn Alqami, the scribes of Sunni courts have tainted Shiites with the odor of perfidy. Medieval Sunni writers also spun the apocryphal tale that a Jew named Abdallah ibn Saba first advanced the notion of the Shiite imamate with his insistence that Ali, assassinated in 661, would one day return triumphant. Nasr relates a few examples of how this state hostility filtered into the minds of the Sunni masses. In Lebanon, Shiites are said to have tails; in Saudi Arabia, Shiites are held to discourage potential dinner guests by expectorating in the soup pot.

Today, Sunnis outnumber Shiites roughly nine to one, and most majority-Muslim states, while nominally secular, are Sunni-identified. A great virtue of Nasr's book is to illuminate how Sunnis' majority status has subtly distorted the way Westerners talk and think about historical and political trends in the Middle East and South Asia. Many Western travelers to the Ottoman Empire absorbed the prejudices of Cairo and Istanbul, where Shiites were seen, at best, as a curiosity, practitioners of strange, impassioned rituals that contrasted markedly with the austere Islam of the urban Sunni elites. It was not until 1959 that the rector of the al-Azhar mosque/university, the most prestigious center of Sunni religious learning, issued a fatwa recognizing mainstream Shiite jurisprudence as a fifth school of Islamic law alongside the four Sunni traditions. In the United States, from the 1979–81 Iranian

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now at the lowest price ever of $49.95!
Harness the positive benefits of sunlight year round—indoors!
It's easy on the environment, your eyes, and your wallet!

*The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp combines the benefits of natural daylight indoors with an energy savings of $77 over the life of one bulb!**

Unless you've spent the last few years on another planet, you know that energy costs have gone through the roof. There's been a lot of press about the rising price of gasoline and natural gas, but the truth is, electricity is also going sky-high. Now, there's finally a lamp that is Eco-friendly. It's the Balanced Spectrum® Floor Lamp, and it pays for itself in energy savings.

What's the difference with Balanced Spectrum®?
The value of a light source is measured by how well it renders all colors of the visible spectrum without bias. The Color Rendering Index (CRI) is measured on a scale of 1–100. The bulb used in the Balanced Spectrum® lamp is an exceptional light source with a CRI of 84. This will provide better vision and energy savings through a full spectrum of light with a brighter bluish tint versus the same area lit by lighting with more of an orange or reddish tint.

Building a better bulb. Since Edison invented the light bulb, little has changed in the world of incandescent lighting. Fluorescent lighting was introduced in the 1930's, but the harsh light is hardly appropriate for most of the rooms in a house. Now, there's a better way… the Balanced Spectrum® Floor Lamp. Its 27-watt compact bulb is the equivalent of a 150-watt ordinary light bulb… only it uses 70% less energy. What's more, the bulb lasts 10 times longer than ordinary bulbs, so there's less waste that ends up in landfills. Still not convinced? Think about this: If every American family replaced just one of their lamps with a Balanced Spectrum® Floor Lamp, it would save enough energy to light more than 2.5 million homes for a year and prevent greenhouse gases equivalent to the emissions of nearly 800,000 cars.

Better for your eyes, better for our environment. In addition to the energy and bulb savings, this lamp brings the benefits of natural sunlight indoors. You will see with more clarity and less eyestrain during a variety of activities, from reading and writing to crafts and hobbies. The lamp features a "soft-touch, flicker-free" rocker switch that's easier to use than traditional toggle or twist switches. Its flexible gooseneck design enables you to get light where you need it.

New longer life bulb now SAVES $77 over the life of one Balanced Spectrum® bulb!* A 150-watt incandescent bulb uses $0.013 per hour in energy cost. The Balanced Spectrum® bulb uses an average of 70% less energy, which saves you $0.009 per hour. Based on 8,000 hours bulb life, the Balanced Spectrum® bulb will save $72 in energy cost. Plus, because the Balanced Spectrum® bulb lasts 10 times longer than an incandescent bulb priced at an average of $0.50, an additional $5 savings is realized.

Try the Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp now at its lowest price of less than $50! Enjoy natural sunlight…indoors, with our best offer yet! The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp comes with *first*STREET's exclusive guarantee. Try this lamp for 90 days and return it for the product purchase price if not completely satisfied.

Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp
Item# BB-3589 . . . . . was ~~$59.95~~
Call now for $10 instant savings!
Only $49.95 each + S&H
*Order two Balanced Spectrum® floor lamps and get **FREE shipping** on both lamps.
*Free shipping within the contiguous 48 states only.

Mention promotional code 33461.
Call toll-free 24 hours a day
1-800-711-8094
www.balancedspectrum.com

firstSTREET for Boomers and Beyond™
1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

*Source: "Lighting the Way to Energy Savings"; 1999

All rights reserved. © 2007 TechnoBrands®, Inc.
41468

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hostage crisis until quite recently, one could see the residue of old stereotypes attached to Shiites in the use of the word "Shiite" as a synonym for "fanatical" and even in such unfortunate popular slang as "holy Shiite." What persists, as Nasr shows, is the tendency to conflate Islam and Sunnism. The "Islamization" that has swept countries in the Arab world and South Asia since the 1970s is really the spread of Salafi strains of Sunnism, by which Muslims are enjoined to emulate the practices of Muhammad's original followers—a category that, in many Salafi minds, excludes the Shiites by definition. Where there are sizable Shiite minorities, as in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, "Islamization" has had a sharp sectarian edge.

Both Nasr and Yitzhak Nakash, a professor of Middle East history who has published a similar but more tightly focused study of Shiite politics, *Reaching for Power*, lay out historical reasons Iraq has become an arena for open Sunni-Shiite conflict. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, Iraq was a literal and figurative battlefield between the Sunni Ottomans and their bitter rivals the Safavids, whose empire was based in Iran. Since the Safavid Empire and its successor Qajar dynasty were Shiite states, the Ottomans worried constantly that Shiites in the water-rich Iraqi breadbasket would be a fifth column in Iranian service. As Nakash details in his earlier book, *The Shi'is of Iraq* (1994), the Sublime Porte's concerns became particularly acute in the mid-1800s, when they began to receive (accurate) reports of large-scale conversion of Iraq's Sunni nomads to Shiism as they settled in the river valleys. In a series of ineffectual countermeasures, the Ottomans dispatched Sunni clerical missionaries, ordered Sunni clerics to denounce Shiites as *rawafid* (those who reject true Islam), banned public observance of Shiite rituals and even prohibited the distribution of Korans printed in Iran. As historian Karen Kern documents in the latest *Arab Studies Journal*, in 1874 the sultan also outlawed marriages between Ottoman women and Iranian men, fearing that the (presumably Sunni) women would convert to Shiism and that their Shiite offspring would grow up to be Benedict Arnolds in the Sixth Army, tasked with securing the far eastern frontier.

If the sultan's trepidation sounds familiar, that is because Saddam Hussein, like his Baathist and Arab nationalist predecessors in the Iraqi presidency, also suspected the Shiite conscripts in his army of disloyalty. In the 1970s, during Iraqi disputes with the Shah, thousands of Shiites were expelled from Iraq because of their "Persian" ancestry. As Nakash recounts, the closely tied accusations of Persianness and sectarianism dogged Iraqi Shiites under successive postmonarchy regimes, despite the fervent embrace by Shiite clerics and lay intellectuals of Arab nationalism or a specifically Iraqi nationalism rooted in the cross-sectarian resistance to British colonialism during the 1920 revolt. Shiites flocked to Communism and Baathism as well, in order to be considered full members of the polity. So sensitive were Shiites to the charge of sectarianism that the writer Hani al-Fukayki bequeathed his late father's personal library to a state ministry instead of a Shiite institution that needed the books more.

If Shiites have gravitated to religious politics, it is in part because Arab nationalism has had a sharply sectarian—Sunni—flavor.

Yet the innuendo from the regimes and their mouthpieces did not abate. Postmonarchy Iraq, indeed, offers the clearest examples of state sectarianism masquerading as secular, even progressive, Arab nationalism. The turn to an explicitly Shiite politics by followers of Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr in Najaf—as with disciples of (the distantly related) Musa al-Sadr in Lebanon—is an indictment of Arabism's failure to accept Shiites on equal terms. Nakash makes this point well; so do Nasr and Fouad Ajami, who go further in hailing the assertion of Shiite identity as a welcome development.

The question, however, is whether a "Shiite revival"—and the backlash it has aroused among Sunni rulers—is the best way to understand the reconfiguration of power and the violent conflagrations in the Islamic world today, as Nasr and (albeit less polemically) Nakash both argue. Recent events in Iraq would seem to lend support to this view. The prevailing thumbnail history of the Iraqi civil war goes something like this: Shiite Arabs are the majority in Iraq, very possibly 60 percent of the population, though there is no recent census upon which to rely. Having chafed for centuries under the oppressive yoke of Sunni Arabs, of whom Saddam Hussein was only the most brutal, Shiite Arabs have now empowered Shiite religious parties to rule Iraq in uneasy tandem with Kurds, who were also battered by Sunni Arab–dominated regimes. The Sunni Arabs resent the loss of their power, and hence they are attacking the new Iraqi government and the US soldiers who back it. After restraining themselves for years, Shiite militias—some allied with the Iraqi government and some inside it—are striking back.

As predicted by Nasr, the rise of the Shiites in Iraq is also sending shock waves through the palaces of neighboring capitals and eliciting strong anti-Shiite sentiments from Salafi clerics. In Jordan, where nearly half of the Iraqis fleeing the Baghdad inferno have taken refuge, the regime has warned that the Iraqi Shiites will constitute the core of a "Shiite crescent"—make that a "Shiite full moon"—that could eclipse the Sunni US satellites in Amman, Cairo and Riyadh. Salafi religious scholars from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia have repeatedly excused armed attacks on "Shiite heretics," including terror bombings claimed by the likes of the late Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, with reference to "the sons of al-Alqami"—implying that in 2003 Shiites left the gates of Baghdad open to foreign invaders just as the medieval slur said they did in 1258. A week after a meeting between Iraqi Sunni leaders and clerics from nearby countries, one of the Saudi Arabian participants, Sheikh Abd al-Rahman al-Barrak, spat out a fatwa describing Shiism as "the evil among the sects of the Muslim community—a sect founded by a Jew" and castigating its adherents as infidels. Not surprisingly, thus far there has been no royal condemnation of this ruling fusing anti-Shiite and anti-Semitic themes. The House of Saud, its "Islamic legitimacy" dependent on the imprimatur of the Wahhabi clerical establishment, routinely ignores comparably bilious statements aimed at the kingdom's 2 million Shiites.

But it is always ill-advised to draw a straight line, even by implication, between communal animosities past and present. There is, first of all, a fundamental problem of evidence. The recorded fretting of the Abbasids, Ottomans and Saddam Hussein about Shiites proves that these rulers were wary of threats to their power, but it does not prove that social relations between the sects have always teetered on the edge of violence. There is at least as much reason to believe otherwise. Karen Kern's findings, for instance, provide circumstantial evidence that cross-sectarian marriage was common enough in the nineteenth century that the Ottomans thought it worth banning. The first clause of the 1874 law read, "Marriages

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sunday:
Dinner with Richard Dreyfuss

Monday:
Q and A with Ralph Nader and Liza Featherstone

Tuesday:
Ogling the Hubbard Glacier next to Mark Hertsgaard

Wednesday Night:
At the blackjack table with Victor Navasky

Thursday:
Cocktails with Katrina vanden Heuvel

What's going on here?
Did you die and go to heaven?

Nope,
you're on The Nation's Alaska Cruise!

SOME CATEGORIES ALREADY SOLD OUT

10th ANNUAL SEMINAR CRUISE— JULY 28-AUGUST 4, 2007

DEPARTING FROM SEATTLE
TO BOOK YOUR CRUISE OR FOR MORE INFORMATION GO TO:

WWW.NATIONCRUISE.COM
OR (888) 833-4339
groups@the-cruise-authority.com

SOME OF YOUR SHIPMATES:

Katrina vanden Heuvel
Nation editor and publisher

Victor Navasky
Nation publisher emeritus

Ralph Nader
Consumer advocate, lawyer and author

Rocky Anderson
Mayor of Salt Lake City

Gary Younge
Nation contributing editor and author of *Stranger in a Strange Land*

Patricia Williams
Nation "Diary of a Mad Law Professor" columnist

Annabelle Gurwitch
Actress, writer, producer *Fired!: Tales of the Canned, Canceled, Downsized, and Dismissed*

Liza Featherstone
Nation contributing editor and author of *Selling Women Short*

Doug Henwood
Editor of *Left Business Observer* and author of *After the New Economy*

Mark Hertsgaard
Nation environment correspondent and author of *Earth Odyssey*

Richard Dreyfuss
Academy Award winning actor and education activist

Robert Scheer
Nation contributing editor and editor of Truthdig.com

Mary Mapes
Peabody Award-winning CBS News producer and author of *Truth and Duty*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

between Ottoman and Iranian citizens, as in olden times, are strongly prohibited."

Here the Ottomans sought to justify their divisive policy with an appeal to the past. But as Kern writes, prior to 1874 there is no record of an edict forbidding Sunni-Shiite intermarriage. To the contrary, lawyers later prevailed upon Istanbul to rescind the ban because their research in Islamic jurisprudence had found so many explicit writs of approval for such unions. Sunnis and Shiites, especially in Baghdad and other cities, are heavily intermarried today, though the phenomenon is fading as war rages. It is also noteworthy that Col. Abdul Karim Qasim, the first Iraqi prime minister after the fall of the monarchy in 1958, remains a deeply popular figure in Iraq despite decades of Baathist despoliation of his memory and legacy. Born to a Sunni Arab father and a Shiite Kurdish mother, Qasim preached Iraqi nationalism mixed with a kind of cultural Arabism and allied himself with the Iraqi Communist Party, whose near annihilation by the Baathists is a vital (but untold by Nasr) part of the story of how many Iraqi Shiites turned to Islamism and Shiite identity. After the destruction of the left, as in Egypt and elsewhere, the one place where dissidents could organize safely was the mosque, where the authorities still hesitated to enter. Sadr City, the sprawling neighborhood in northeast Baghdad where fighters in Muqtada al-Sadr's Mahdi Army make their homes, and which the deposed regime knew as Saddam City, was the locus of the colonel's social base. Many residents still insist on calling the area by its Qasim-era name, Madinat al-Thawra—a pointed simultaneous rejection of both Saddam and Sadr. Finally, the great majority of Arab Iraqis today—including 65 percent of Shiites and 100 percent of Sunnis—want Iraq to remain governed by a single state and emphatically do not support the militias that are perpetrating sectarian cleansing. This preference was poignantly illustrated in late April, when Iraqis of all backgrounds expressed vehement objections as the US Army erected walls around violence-plagued neighborhoods of the capital and then called them "gated communities."

These facts suggest that the Sunni-Shiite split, while deadly and deepening, has not overwhelmed the ideal of a nonsectarian Iraqi nationalism and, crucially, that one should not assume the parties and militias claiming to represent Sunnis and Shiites are necessarily executing the communal will. They also suggest that the murderous intensity of Iraq's sectarian conflict is a product of contemporary history—most important, of the power vacuum created by the US occupation, which made Iraqis desperate to seek protection from co-religionists with guns. Much as many Americans might like to imagine that Iraq's strife is timeless, whether they are seeking absolution for backing Bush's war or a politically painless way to back withdrawal, it cannot be understood without considering the choices the United States made during its direct misrule of Iraq. Those choices have been reviewed many times in these pages, but historians may finger one as the tipping point: US colonial overlord L. Paul Bremer's 2003 decision to allocate seats on the Iraqi Governing Council according to sectarian and ethnic affiliation. Even Hamid Musa, head of the remnants of the Iraqi Communist Party, was given a seat because he is a Shiite. Top jobs in Iyad Allawi's interim government were doled out in the same way, turning ministries into communal party fiefdoms and entrenching a Lebanese confessional system in the "new Iraq."

While many Sunni Arabs look upon Shiites unfavorably, the leader they most admire is a Shiite, Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah.

Nasr cannot be held responsible for the fact that some readers have gravitated to his thesis to soothe bad consciences about the invasion and occupation. Yet *The Shia Revival*—and here is where the prognosis comes in—engages in no small amount of special pleading. In retort to US officials who, since the hostage crisis and the 1983 Marine barracks bombing in Beirut, have seen Shiites as the bad Muslims and Sunnis as not so bad, he clearly wants his readers simply to invert the mental equation.

This agenda comes through in passages like this: "The Shias' historical experience is akin to those of Jews and Christians in that it is a millennium-long tale of martyrdom, persecution and suffering. Sunnis, by contrast, are imbued with a sense that immediate worldly success should be theirs." Several times in the text, Nasr compares Shiites to Catholics, Orthodox Jews and Hindus—people the cosmopolitan West is familiar with—in tacit distinction to the alien Sunnis. And the diffusion of Salafi ideas wrongly described as Islamization? By Nasr's lights, that is "Sunnification." There is also transparent legerdemain in his insinuation that Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani intervened to insure that every third candidate on the "Shiite list" in the January 2005 Iraqi elections was a woman. In fact, women were accorded such prominence on every electoral slate because of a quota requirement in the Transitional Administrative Law crafted in 2004—and Iraqi women's rights activists deserve all the credit.

The goal of Nasr's book is to persuade Washington to downgrade its alliances with Sunni Arab regimes and forge friendlier ties with the rising Shiites of the Middle East. Indeed, he believes Washington will have to pursue this course, "if for no better reason than that the Shia live on top of some of the richest oil fields in the region," in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait and, of course, Iran. As a result, he defies classification in the usual schemas of contemporary Middle East policy debates. Like Ajami and some Bush Administration hawks, he wants the United States to stop pressuring Iraqi Shiite religious parties to seek reconciliation with Sunni Arabs. In its extreme form, this policy orientation is expressed as the "80 percent solution," of which some in Vice President Dick Cheney's office are reportedly enamored, whereby the United States would accompany the condominium of the Shiite religious parties and the Kurds in a Sherman-style march through the so-called Sunni Triangle. Yet Nasr is a staunch realist regarding Hezbollah and Iran, and—writing with Iran scholar Ray Takeyh—he took to the *New York Times* op-ed page recently to advocate precisely the "policy of engagement" with Tehran that is anathema to neoconservatives and Cheneyite cold warriors. Like Takeyh, and indeed most Iran specialists in the West, Nasr is no fan of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and the clerical regime, which he accuses of making "overweening claims about religious authority over political decisions." (Nasr's distinctive twist on this conventional view of Khomeini, in keeping with the theme of the book, is to decry "his agenda of subtly steering Shiism closer to Sunnism.") Sistani, with his image of traditionalist aversion to the direct exercise of temporal power, is Nasr's model ayatollah.

On the other hand, Nasr unequivocally locates the origins of the Shiite revival in the Islamic Revolution, and he is proud of the modernizing accomplishments of the Islamic Republic. How can a moderate Muslim minority that the United States should befriend have emerged from this quintes-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Strongest Over-the-Counter Pain Reliever AVAILABLE TODAY*

Doctor-recommended and athlete-tested pain cream not only provides immediate relief from inflamed joints and sore muscles, but actually helps aid in healing them for long-term results.

What do professional athletes and ordinary Americans suffering from arthritis, fybromyalgia or joint stiffness have in common? In a word, pain. But since being pain-free is critical for an athlete's success, professional sports players will seek every available method for effective pain relief in order to compete and extend their careers. As a result, many athletes whose jobs (and 10-figure salaries!) are on the line have turned toward a unique pain relief cream that not only provides immediate relief, but that also aids in actually healing their sprains, muscle soreness, bruises and aches to help prevent them from reoccurring.

Trusted By Pain Professionals

PainFree™ has been recommended by personal trainers and sports medicine doctors for years to quickly relieve and actually help heal chronic pain. But PainFree's reputation for immediate and long-lasting pain relief has it now being sought after by many average Americans seeking relief from their own chronic pain, as well.

Works Fast & Effectively

PainFree™ contains a unique combination of health-enhancing oils (Wintergreen, Emu, Evergreen, Blackberry, Cranberry, Thyme, Peppermint and Tea Tree), combined with Glucosamine, Chondroitin and extracts from honey, that may help increase circulation, decrease inflammation and can even aid in the strengthening of connective tissues to eliminate pain where it starts. And unlike many leading pain relievers, PainFree's powerful delivery system, coupled with micro particles, helps it to deeply penetrate all the layers of skin so that it can actually attack the source of pain for long-term relief. It doesn't just mask the problem, it actually helps fix it!

Provides Immediate Relief & Aids in Healing:

- Muscle soreness
- Joint pain/stiffness
- Muscle cramps
- Arthritis
- Bruises
- Sprains
- Muscle spasms
- Fibromyalgia

Better Than Pills & Patches

PainFree™ is the safest, most effective type of pain reliever because it is a topical cream that can be smoothed over all the curves and flat areas of the body where pain may occur. Pain relieving patches can be effective, but can only adhere to flat areas of the body, which is not where arthritis, tendonitis and sprains occur. Over-the-counter oral pain medication can cause serious side effects, like stomach irritation, ulcers and even bleeding. And narcotic pain relievers prescribed by your doctor can be addictive.

Try The Strongest Topical Pain Reliever* Risk-Free

If you're tired of pain relievers that don't stand up to their promises and are ready to try what many doctors and professional athletes consider the most effective pain reliever available, then call today, and give PainFree™ a try. The manufacturer is so sure you'll find it the best pain reliever you've ever tried, that they're offering a 30-day risk-free trial. **If for any reason you are unsatisfied, return the unused portion, and they'll refund your money** (less s&h). You have nothing to lose but the pain.

1-800-788-5789

To order by mail, please call for details.

www.zero-pain.com

*As stated by numerous PainFree™ users. This statement about PainFree™ has not been evaluated by the Food and Drug Administration. This product is not intended to diagnose, treat, cure or prevent any disease.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sentially radical event? Nasr is unclear on this point, but his implied argument is that the radical tone of Khomeinism—voiced today by President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad—retains purchase among Shiites only because of long mutual enmity between Iran and the West. If the West, and especially the United States, would forgive Tehran its transgressions in the fervor of revolution and deal in good faith with the pragmatists in the clerical hierarchy, the likes of Ahmadinejad would eventually lose their cachet. This, too, is a familiar realist argument, and both Takeyh (*Hidden Iran*) and British-Iranian scholar Ali Ansari (*Confronting Iran*) have devoted their very useful volumes to its explication. No detailed treatment of Sunni-Shiite tensions, or Shiism for that matter, is necessary to comprehend the trajectory of the US-Iranian confrontation. With their focus on Iranian nationalism, Takeyh and Ansari are better, though not more encouraging, guides to this subject than Nasr.

Viewed through the regional prism, Nasr's disdain for the "Sunni" worldliness of Khomeinism raises another question: Why do Middle Easterners, including Sunni Islamist parties like Hamas but also large segments of Sunni Arab populations, regard Shiite Islamist militancy with admiration? One important answer surely lies in the conflict over Palestine, left to fester by Arab regimes obsessed with their own security and subservient to Washington, while Iran and Hezbollah position themselves rhetorically (and seek to transcend sectarian divisions) as the redoubtable defenders of Muslim Jerusalem. At a deeper level, the Islamic Revolution's ouster of the Shah, Ahmadinejad's insistence on Iran's right to enrich uranium and Hezbollah's "divine victory" over Israel in 2000 and 2006 are perceived as rare triumphs over colonial encroachment, moments when Arabs and Muslims wrote history instead of having it written upon them.

It is instructive, however, that Hassan Nasrallah's preferred narrative for interpreting Iraq, *divide et impera*, is highly contested in the Arab world, where many see the malign hand of Iran as well as an illegal US occupation. The Iraqi government is widely viewed as a puppet of the United States or Iran or both. Anti-Shiite sentiments have spread through virulent, Salafi-run TV channels operating in Iraq, as well as through the Iraqi refugees' tales of targeting by death squads. The most popular satellite channel, Al Jazeera, has been banned from Iraq since 2004 because of its alleged sympathies for Sunni rebels, and hundreds of Shiites recently demonstrated in Najaf against its portrayal of Ayatollah Sistani. Among Iraqi Shiites, meanwhile, the old questions of identity and relation to the state are far from settled by the Shiite revival. Notions of Arabism and Iraqi nationalism exert a powerful pull alongside Islamism and sectarian pride. Indirect evidence of the vigor of these debates came in mid-May, when the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, in a subtle distancing from its place of exile in Iran, changed its name to the Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council and scaled back its demands for a Shiite mega-province in the south. According to Reidar Visser, a prominent scholar of Iraqi Shiism, party members took these steps "to stress their Iraqiness."

Whatever the outcome of these debates, and whatever horse Washington eventually bets on in the Green Zone, Nasr and Nakash are undoubtedly correct that the rise of the Iraqi Shiites promises to be a lasting feature of the strategic landscape, along with the heightened clout of Iran and Hezbollah's prominent role in Lebanon's confessional politics. These developments are not solely understandable in sectarian terms, but they have been understood that way by key elites in the Middle East, most visibly in Amman, Cairo and Riyadh. Not only did the Saudis loosen the reins on the excommunicators among the Wahhabi clergy; columnists in the quasi-official press organs of Egypt and Jordan also flirted with the sectarian analysis emanating from the palaces there. Since late 2006 cooler heads have seemingly prevailed. On the clerical level, the respected Egyptian scholar Yusuf al-Qaradawi has convened a series of meetings between prominent Sunni imams and Shiite mullahs to find common theological ground. On his website, Qaradawi dismissed the early April meeting as a "conference of empty compliments" but stressed the importance of continuing dialogue "for the preservation of Muslim unity." On the state level, Saudi and Iranian diplomats are widely believed to have talked down Lebanese Sunni and Shiite parties from the brink of extended street fighting over the disputed composition of the Lebanese cabinet. Still, with the Lebanon crisis unresolved, Iraqi refugees languishing in Jordan, Syria and elsewhere, and no end in sight to the Iraqi maelstrom, the shadow of sectarianism is far from lifted. The Bush Administration's Iraq adventure has unleashed volatile transformations in the Middle East whose direction is impossible to predict or control. ■

Iraq's Founding Mother

CHARLES GLASS

GERTRUDE BELL: Queen of the Desert, Shaper of Nations.
By Georgina Howell. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 481 pp. $27.50.

During the frozen winter of 2003 in the mountains of Iraqi Kurdistan, Ahmad Chalabi was waiting for the United States to invade his country. He was reading, among other books, a biography of Gertrude Bell, *prima inter pares* of the British founders of modern Iraq. The book, *Desert Queen* by Janet Wallach, included a passage that Chalabi liked so much he read it aloud to me beside an open fire at his safe house in Sulaimaniya. In the anecdote he selected from *Desert Queen*, Miss Bell was listening to the aged Abdul Rahman al Gailani, who, as the Naqib of Baghdad, was a respected Sunni Muslim religious figure. The Naqib addressed her as "Khatun," or Lady (from the Turkic word for a noblewoman), in Baghdad on February 6, 1919, two years after Britain conquered the old Abbasid capital but before it had presented its plans for postwar government. Speaking in Arabic, he said to her,

> Your nation is great, wealthy and powerful.... Where is our power?... You are the governors and I am the governed. And when I am asked what is my opinion as to the continuance of British rule, I reply that I am the subject of the victor. You, Khatun, have an understanding of statecraft. I do not hesitate to say to you that I loved the Turkish government

Charles Glass (www.charlesglass.net), ABC News's chief Middle East correspondent from 1983 to 1993, covered the 1991 and 2003 American wars against Iraq for ABC. He is the author of Tribes With Flags *(Atlantic Monthly),* Money for Old Rope *(Picador) and* The Tribes Triumphant *(HarperCollins).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> when it was as I once knew it. If I could return to the rule of the Sultans of Turkey as they were in former times, I should make no other choice. But I loathe and hate, curse and consign to the devil the present Turkish Government. The Turk is dead; he has vanished, and I am content to become your subject.

Chalabi was gambling that the Naqib's stance toward the British in 1919 would serve as the model for Baghdad's reception of his American allies in 2003. However, even in 1919, the Naqib was in the minority. A year later, most of the population of what became Iraq took up arms against the British. Yet Miss Bell had chosen to listen to the Naqib, albeit selectively. Washington too preferred, over more skeptical Iraqis, the assurances of Chalabi's friend and political ally Kanan Makiya, who told George Bush that the Iraqi people "will greet the troops with sweets and flowers." As events unfolded, Iraq's greeting consisted more of bombs than sweets.

Washington's ideologically charged neoconservative coterie possessed little knowledge or understanding of the Middle East, allowing it to dismiss the easily predictable consequences of invading and occupying Iraq. (There were precedents it might have heeded: In the 1980s, in particular, hundreds of thousands of Iraqis, most of them Shiites who could have been expected to sympathize with revolutionary Iran, died fighting the Iranian invasion.) But a woman as intelligent and informed as Gertrude Bell lacked the alibi of ignorance. She had traveled around the country for years, and she knew it better than almost any other Westerner. Her design to force the Arabs—both Sunni and Shiite—and Kurds into an artificial state under British dominion was doomed to plunge the country into war. She, along with the other competent British Arabists in the Baghdad administration, refused to see the inevitable fallout of imposing the son of Britain's wartime ally, Sharif Hussein bin Ali of Mecca, upon them in 1920. Even the Naqib had warned her that he "would rather a thousand times have the Turks back in Iraq than see the Sharif or his sons installed here."

Bell imagined that Hussein's son Faisal, who had fought for the British against Turkey during World War I and been expelled from Syria by the French afterward, would be acceptable to most Iraqis. While the Kurds were unlikely to welcome an Arab head of state under British tutelage, she believed that the Shiite Arabs would see in Faisal a direct descendant of the Prophet Muhammad through their much-revered Ali and that the Sunni Arabs would take him as one of their own. The Naqib, whose advice she ignored, had warned her, "The Hejaz is one and the Iraq is one, there is no connection between them but that of the Faith. Our politics, our trade, our agriculture are all different from those of the Hejaz." It was her intention to make Iraq governable by creating what the British would call the "two majorities" out of three communities. The theory allowed any group to combine with another, allowing the two to constitute a majority. Thus, Arab and Kurdish Sunni Muslims could dominate the Arab Shiites; conversely, if the two Arab communities, Shiite and Sunni, combined, they would have a majority over the Kurds. Iraqis were never able to exercise majority rights because cliques, mainly but not exclusively Sunni Arab, governed the country under the British, the monarchy and the Baath Party without reference to majority rule or any other notion of democracy. When elections were finally held, under the American occupation, the Sunnis boycotted them—leaving the Shiites and Kurds to constitute the government, a combination that defied ethnic and religious differences that the British had not anticipated.

In 1920, when Britain made clear its intention to rule without taking Arab and Kurdish intentions into account, the groups rebelled. Britain ruthlessly repressed them, sending the Royal Air Force to undertake history's first mass air bombardment of civilians. Then–Secretary of State for War and Air Winston Churchill proposed the use of chemical weapons against Iraq's Kurds, but the technology for aerial deployment of poison gas had yet to be developed. An outraged T.E. Lawrence ("of Arabia") wrote to the *Sunday Times* in 1920, "We have killed ten thousand Arabs in the rising this summer. We cannot hope to maintain such an average: it is a poor country, sparsely populated." The daily *Times*, usually supportive of imperial expansion, noted that Britain was forcing on the Iraqis "an elaborate and expensive administration which they never asked for and do not want."

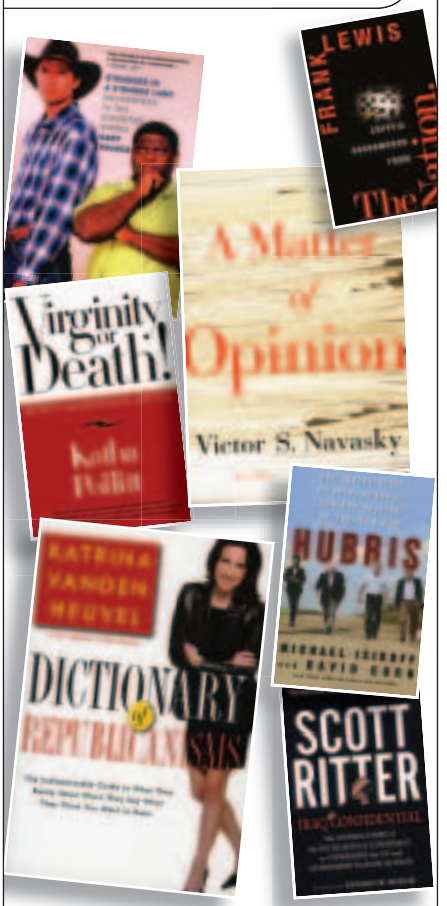
As the Americans did later, the British staged an election—actually a referendum, the model for subsequent electoral frauds in the Arab world—in which 96 percent of voters ostensibly accepted Britain's plans for them. Thus was Prince Faisal, son of Hussein of Mecca, crowned king of Iraq. To the 10,000 dead in 1920, Britain added thousands more, quelling Arab and Kurdish revolts from the 1920s through

WWW.THENATIONMART.COM

Nation Mart

NOW OFFERING BOOKS BY YOUR FAVORITE NATION AUTHORS AT DISCOUNTS UP TO 75% OFF

ONE-STOP SHOPPING FOR EVERYTHING NATION



Support The Nation with each purchase. T-shirts, coffee mugs, buttons & more.
GREAT GIFTS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WINDY OAKS

Pinot For Progressives!

10% OF YOUR ORDER DONATED TO THE NATION ASSOCIATES

RECENT KUDOS FOR WINDY OAKS ESTATE

Double Gold Medal, 2006 SF Chronicle Wine Competition

91 points, Editors' Choice 11.01.05
Wine Enthusiast Magazine

91 points, Pinot Report Quarterly

- 100% estate, family vineyard and winery on the California coast.
- Organic practices in the vineyard.
- Dedicated to sustainable agriculture, using biodynamic principles.
- No additives in the winemaking process.
- A pure expression of terroir.

www.windyoaksestate.com

Indicate in the Comments section of the Wine Order page that you read about us in The Nation

(831) 786-9463

PUT YOUR MONEY WHERE YOUR MOUTH IS.

APPLY FOR THE NATION CREDIT CARD TODAY.

Now more than ever, *The Nation* needs you. Demonstrate your support with *The Nation* Platinum Visa Card. Every purchase provides much-needed funding for America's oldest weekly magazine. For low interest, no annual fee and Visa Platinum services, become a card-carrying member. A grateful *Nation* thanks you.

APPLY NOW: 1.800.347.7887

ASK FOR THE *NATION* VISA CARD

the '40s. In 1958, a year after Britain withdrew its last RAF base from Habbaniya, near Baghdad, a revolution overthrew the monarchy it had imposed. The American invasion and occupation have led to the death of so many Iraqis that the best research to date calculates the number at a minimum of 392,979 and a maximum of 942,636. No one knows how many more will die before the United States retreats or how many will be killed after the last American base shuts down. Thus do empires meddle, cut and run.

It was in part to reverse the catastrophic effects of Iraq's birth that the United States invaded the country in March 2003. Bell, her mentor Sir Percy Cox and other British Orientalists created a self-destructive state that rarely knew peace—enduring countless rebellions, massacres of Assyrians and Kurds in the early years, military coups, more massacres of Shiites and Kurds in later years, torture on an industrial scale, assassination as state policy and a war with Iran that left a million dead. This history culminated in the vicious tyranny of Saddam Hussein, whose contempt for his people's self-determination exceeded that of the British. The Americans, far from undoing the British legacy of bloodshed, have prolonged and intensified it. Britain's unitary Iraqi state may no longer exist, but the legacy of decision-making through violence continues.

Gertrude Bell loved Iraq and wanted the best for its people, as she, rather than they, understood it. In that sense, she was a naïve British version of Paul Wolfowitz. But Wolfowitz was the architect of a war, while Miss Bell designed what was meant to be the peace. Wolfowitz, armed with doctrinal preconceptions, had never lived among Arabs or Kurds. Miss Bell had. She spoke Arabic well and had translated Persian poetry. Unlike Wolfowitz, Miss Bell knew the tribes, family networks, religious hierarchies and landscape of Mesopotamia, Syria and Arabia. For years before the British occupation, she had journeyed there on foot, horse and camel, as she recounted in her memorable 1907 travel book, *The Desert and the Sown*. As a woman alone, she relied for her survival on the hospitality and courtesy of tribal elders—which they freely gave. Yet her motives were more than academic. When the chief of one of Iraq's most important tribes, the Shammar, told her she would be welcomed into all Shammar tents, she wrote home, "Some day I shall profit by the invitation. I like making the acquaintance of these desert lords, it may always come in useful." Useful for Britain.

She risked her life to study the Arabs, and she became a friend and confidante to many sheiks who did not esteem the female intellect until they met her. (Miss Bell, a prominent member of the Women's Anti-Suffrage League, had as little regard for the intelligence of her sex and makes an unlikely feminist heroine—despite the fact that most of her biographers are admiring women.) Georgina Howell, her latest biographer, notes that Bell wrote of an early expedition among the Kurds that she had "rather lost her heart" to them, but she never persuaded their chiefs that becoming part of Iraq would be good for them. To the end of British rule, they insisted on the independence that the allies had promised them immediately after World War I. She made little headway with the Arab Shiites, writing in 1920, "Until quite recently I've been wholly cut off from [the Shiites] because their tenets forbid them to look on an unveiled woman and my tenets don't permit me to veil." Yet she numbered chiefs of all sects among her friends, including the old Naqib of Baghdad, whom she had known since her 1909 visit to the city. If anyone could cajole and influence the people of what was becoming Iraq, it was this eccentric, willful and intelligent upper-middle-class Englishwoman. She helped Britain to impose the idea of Iraq on recalcitrant peoples; but she failed, as she occasionally conceded in times of crisis, to make British imperium acceptable.

Gertrude Bell's life would have been interesting even without her Iraq adventure, but she might not have been the subject of so many biographies—of which Howell's *Gertrude Bell: Queen of the Desert, Shaper of Nations* is at least the tenth in English since 1940. (Also published were two volumes of letters and her Arabian diaries.) Miss Bell was a scholar of merit, one of the rare women of her time to take a First Class Honors degree from Oxford, in 1888, and a compelling writer. The daughter of northern industrialists of a liberal bent, she moved easily in the British intellectual circles of her time. Disappointed in love—the two men she desired to marry died, and most of her biographers believe she remained a virgin—she was nonetheless an accomplished archeologist, explorer and Alpine climber. But for her political engagement in Iraq between Britain's invasion in 1916 and her suicide in 1926, Gertrude Bell would take her place in the parade of English lady travelers, like Lady Hester Stanhope and Jane Digby, who had merely gone to live among the Arabs. As assistant to Sir Percy

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cox, Britain's first High Commissioner over the Mandate in Iraq, Miss Bell used her connections in London and among the country's Arab leaders to establish a state that she imagined would benefit its subjects, and her influence on it was probably greater than that of any other British official. She was a ruthless bureaucratic infighter, seeing off rivals as disparate as the legendary Arabist Harry St. John Philby and the Iraqi Arab nationalist Sayyid Talib Pasha.

During US preparations for the Iraq invasion in late 2002 and early 2003, Iraqis opposed to Saddam Hussein mentioned Gertrude Bell more often than any other British imperial figure. They accused certain American officials of seeking to become the new Gertrude Bell, whose name they used pejoratively. That most Americans had never heard of her indicates that American knowledge of Iraq was intended only to manage its oil, its relationship with Israel and its potential as a long-term military base from which to control the Middle East. With an agenda more limited than Britain's, did Americans need to know, as Miss Bell did, every tribe and all the dialects? Her knowledge did little more for Iraq than America's ignorance, because the operative factor in the relationship between both empires and Iraq was the employment of force. Britain and the United States used it liberally.

Yet Bell's influence on Iraq was in one way more constructive than that of the American occupiers who succeeded the British. The Iraqi National Museum, which looters pillaged in April 2003, while American forces guarded the oil ministry, was her creation. She had cherished Mesopotamia's history as fiercely as she sought to determine its future. The American invasion, seventy-seven years after her death, not only dismantled the unified Iraq she had designed but also destroyed the record of the Iraqi past through the looting of her museum, Halliburton's vandalism at Babylon and Marine graffiti on the ziggurat at Ur. Not since the Mongols had invaders shown such disrespect for Mesopotamia's history. As it turned out, there were no American Gertrude Bells willing to salvage and preserve the historical artifacts where humanity's civilized history is said to have begun.

There are many reasons to write a new biography of an old subject: the discovery of new material, developing an original interpretation, placing the life in a fresh context or the desire to write a better book than those that came before. Howell's *Gertrude Bell* cannot lay claim to any of these, although it is clearly the result of copious research. Published only ten years after Janet Wallach's and in the same year as another Bell biography, by Liora Lukitz, Howell's book adds little to previous works. In her preface, Howell claims that Bell's "voice ought to be heard and appreciated, it seemed to me—which is why I decided to use many more of her own words than would appear in a conventional biography." Yet she does not seem to use many more of Miss Bell's words than did Janet Wallach or H.V.F. Winstone, in his 1978 *Gertrude Bell*. Howell accepts uncritically—as, alas, did most earlier biographers—Miss Bell's interpretation of events as well as her reporting of them.

The story of Iraqi politician Sayyid Talib Pasha is one example. Talib was the son of the Naqib of Basra. During World War I, when Britain was fighting the Ottoman Empire, he had founded an Arab nationalist movement opposed to Turkish rule. Yet he was not as compliant as the British would have liked. Sir Percy Cox, then the British army's political officer in Mesopotamia, had him deported to India in 1916. Talib returned after the British occupied Baghdad in 1917, but he was willing to cooperate with Britain—acting for a time as minister of the interior—so long as Britain kept its promise to grant the country full independence. At a dinner in his Baghdad house in April 1921, Talib told his British and Arab guests, "If the British do not faithfully carry out their pledges, there is the Amir Rabiah with 20,000 tribesmen, and Shaikh Salim and all his tribesmen to ask the reason why." He had criticized a certain British official who was exerting influence to force Iraqis to accept Sherif Faisal of the Hejaz as their future leader. It was a clear reference to Bell.

When the conversation was reported to her the next morning, she wrote immediately to Sir Percy, now the High Commissioner. Cox invited Talib to his house for tea, but he was careful not to be present himself. One of the guests, Major Bovill, left early. After thanking Lady Cox and saying goodbye to Miss Bell, Talib drove away from the house toward the Tigris. Major Bovill was waiting at the bridge. "I regret that I have orders to arrest you," he said. Talib was whisked away, sent to Ceylon and forbidden to return to Iraq. Howell finds no duplicity in this and exonerates Miss Bell for what amounted to the kidnapping of an obstacle to British plans for Talib's country. Referring to "the less salubrious Sayyid Talib," Howell writes, "She [Bell] argued that Talib's

Strength and determination define you and the choices you make every day.
Savour the absinthe that was developed for your discerning palate and enjoy the rewards of choice.
To place an order call
1.800.631.0203 • TimelessAbsinthe.com

"BRING THEM HOME" TEE #8063, SIZES S-3X
Products for Progressives since 1979.
Northern Sun Merchandising
T-SHIRTS • BUMPERSTICKERS • BUTTONS • CUSTOM PRINTING
CALL FOR A FREE CATALOG • **800.258.8579** XTN OR VISIT
WWW.NORTHERNSUN.COM

An Economist's Travelogue Michael D. Yates
CHEAP MOTELS AND A HOT PLATE
"it might change the way you see the country…"
— Jim Hightower
www.cheapmotelsandahotplate.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

threats had disqualified him from participating in the democratic process." Democratic process?

Wallach also shared Bell's prejudice, calling Talib a "scurrilous rogue"; but Winstone relied less on his subject's self-excuses: "The arrest was an act of social and political insensibility, and Gertrude's part in it cannot escape criticism any more than can Sir Percy's or Lady Cox's." Howell's—as well as Wallach's and Lukitz's—portrayal of what was fundamentally the British imperial version of Iraq's founding can be explained in part by the acknowledgments in her book. Like other Bell biographers, she thanks libraries, diplomats, officials and scholars in the West. She does not appear to have consulted any Iraqis. Perhaps their version is the one that should be written next.

The first person to tell the story was, of course, Miss Bell herself. "No life could ever have been better documented than that of Gertrude Bell," Winstone, one of her first male biographers, wrote. "From early childhood to the end of her days she recorded every step, every significant event, in letters to her family and friends." The British National Archives website declares, "The papers consist of sixteen thousand letters, sixteen diaries, seven notebooks and forty-four packets of miscellaneous material." That is in addition to her 7,000 photographs. (Bell's next biographer will find most of these documents at the University of Newcastle in the north of England.) The material is abundant, but so are the biographers. Somehow, Bell's life and her suicide at the age of 57 remain as enigmatic as the insistence of Western powers on their right to intervene in Iraq—no matter what the outcome. ■

EVENTS

NATIONAL

2007 URPE Summer Conference

■ Global Migration and the Logic of Capitalism. Friday, August 10, to Monday, August 13. Camp Deer Run, Pine Bush, New York. Register by July 27. Plenaries include: "The Changing Nature of Labor Struggles in the United States," with Brian Callaci, Gwenn Mills and Mark Brenner; "Causes and Consequences of Transnational Migration," with Salimah Valiani, Alex Julca and others TBA; and the David Gordon Lecture ("Radical Economics and Social Change Movements: Strengthening the Links Between Academics and Activists"), by Jim Stanford. And lots of other workshops! Camp Deer Run, located at the foot of the Shawangunk Mountains, provides opportunities for swimming, basketball, volleyball, badminton and hiking. Children are welcome. Rates: sliding scale. For more information contact URPE at urpe@labornet.org or (413) 577-0806. Visit our website: www.urpe.org.

ILLINOIS

Vietnam Veterans Against the War

■ Fortieth Anniversary Celebration August 3–5. Friday, 8 PM: reception; Saturday: conference and evening party; Sunday: TBD. Let's rededicate ourselves to ending the Iraq War while we remember, reconnect and celebrate the organization we have created and sustained. Register and get details at www.vvaw.org or (773) 276-4189.

MAINE

Citizens' Summit

■ When Bush meets with Vladimir Putin in Kennebunkport, people of conscience will hold a "citizens' summit" and protest march to the Bush compound. We are demanding that US troops be brought home now and calling for impeachment of Bush and Cheney. Organized by the Kennebunks Peace Department and Maine Lawyers for Democracy and the Maine Campaign to Impeach. Free camping. For more info contact: Jamilla El-Shafei, jamillaelshafei@yahoo.com. www.maineimpeach.org.

NEW YORK

Sicko

■ Join Physicians for a National Health Program in welcoming viewers to Michael Moore's *Sicko* on Friday, June 29, at theaters around the country. This is a great opportunity to get the word out about single-payer national health insurance—real universal healthcare. If you want to join our ongoing campaign or in distributing leaflets at one of the 3,000 theaters where *Sicko* will be opening on June 29, please contact PNHP at www.pnhp.org. If you are in the NY Metro area, contact pnhpnyc@igc.org or (212) 666-4001.

Talking Candidly About Israel

■ Ameinu and Meretz USA are pleased to present "How to Talk Candidly About Israel," a conversation among progressive American Jews. What are the obstacles to discussing the occupation and US-Israel relations in the public arena? How can they be overcome? Featuring Anne Roiphe, author, political commentator and contributing editor, *The Jerusalem Report*; Philip Weiss, author, blogger and contributor to *The Nation* on "The Israel Lobby"; Dan Fleshler, political analyst, blogger and board member, Ameinu and Americans for Peace Now. Moderated by J.J. Goldberg, editor in chief, *Forward* and author, *Jewish Power*. June 21, 7:30 PM. The Stephen Wise Free Synagogue, 30 W. 68th Street, New York City. For further information, please visit www.ameinu.net and www.meretzusa.org or call (212) 366-1194 or (212) 242-4500. For information about the Stephen Wise Free Synagogue, please visit www.swfs.org or call (212) 877-4050.

Classified

While we reserve the right to edit, reject or reclassify any advertisement, The Nation *wishes its readers to know we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

ANCIENT SECRETS

INCONTROVERTIBLE PROOF Josephus created fictional Jesus! Scholarly Booklet $10. Abelard Box 5652-B, Kent, WA 98064. (Details: SASE).

ART

ITINERANT ARTIST PROJECT 2007–08: Exchanging landscape paintings for hospitality across USA/Canada. Find out more, be a host or sponsor: www.jimmott.com; jhmott@juno.com.

ASTROLOGY

TRANSFORMATIONAL ASTROLOGY. Readings with Dr. Craig. In person or by phone. Counseling for individuals and couples. www.LAhealer.com or (323) 208-1091.

BLOGS/WEB

WWW.FAMOUSWELSH.COM. www.jonesnyhistory.com.

STUDENTS—looking for a good study break? Visit *The Nation*'s new student web page at www.thenation.com/student. Here you can catch up on news from campuses around the country, request free magazines for your student events, contribute to a weekly online discussion board about controversial issues, read student-related *Nation* articles and keep abreast of upcoming *Nation*-sponsored student conferences, contests and public engagements.

BOOKS

BOTHERED BY FORBIDDEN DESIRES? Don't feel guilty, read *Dr. Lumumba's Dream of Incest* by Anna Purna. (888) 280-7715. Also available at Amazon.com.

LANDMARK CASES LEFT OUT OF YOUR TEXTBOOKS. Big Bill Haywood to Angela Davis to Katrina victims—43 cases in 84 fact/law-packed pages. Ann Fagan Ginger, editor. (510) 848-0599, www.mcli.org/store.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

FRUSTRATED INCORPORATED? I know just what you need to see. Put yourself outta misery. www.sailingtofreedomandbeyond.com.

LIBERAL LIAISONS

If responding to a Nation Box number, send replies to: Nation Box ___ , The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

Concerned Singles

Links singles concerned about peace, justice, race/gender equity, environment. Since 1984. Nationwide/international. All ages; straight/gay. Free sample: Box 444-NA, Lenox Dale, MA 01242; (413) 243-4350; www.concernedsingles.com.

FiftyPlusConnect.com

Find a date, travel partner, activity partner, e-pal or more. Sign up now. (800) 343-7074.

59-YEAR-OLD BUILDING CONTRACTOR, recovering attorney, enjoying life and work seeks sensual, relaxed, engaging woman with a sense of adventure and humor for love and companionship. Carmel, CA. Reply Nation Box 441.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified

LIBERAL LIAISONS

GREENSINGLES.COM—Free photo ads for progressive singles in the environmental, vegetarian and animal rights communities. Searchable listings for friendship, dating, marriage. Since 1985. www.GreenSingles.com.

EROTIC ADULT PHONE CONVERSATION with sensual, intelligent women. Any topic welcome! VISA/MC/AMEX. Call (888) 495-8255.

SENSUAL, STYLISH PHONE CONVERSATIONS with intelligence, humor and élan. Unrestricted, guaranteed discretion. Alexis (781) 581-9598.

FETISHES AND FANTASIES fulfilled. Hot erotic talk with creative, sensuous woman. No limits. Personal, confidential. Call (866) 844-8286.

TAWNY FORD. Exquisitely erotic conversation. Live, personal, unhurried. (248) 615-1300. Credit cards, prepay. www.tawnyford.com.

YOUR SECRET is our secret. www.Secretsphonesex.com, (800) 344-2019.

MATURE, INTELLIGENT CONVERSATION. Discreet. Erotic, Imaginative, Independently Operated. Must be 18. $1.99/minute. www.greteleta.com. (866)-454-3763.

EXPERIENCE KRIS AND EXPERIENCE THE DIFFERENCE. Escape and explore. Intelligent and sensual conversations. www.experiencekris.com.

INTELLIGENT, ELDERLY PROFESSIONAL MAN. St. Paul/Minneapolis area seeks woman 65-75, physically fit, sexually active, psychologically stable, politically informed, not religious, for companionship and amorous relationship. Reply Nation Box 438.

LIBERAL EX-LAWYER/PROFESSIONAL, 75. Tall, fit, game, financially secure, divorced. Hoping for woman companion interested in affection, politics, books, theater, walking. Boston/Newburyport area. northshoreed@comcast.net.

LIVELY OCTOGENARIAN, peace activist, wants activist correspondents who will respond via snail mail. Reply Nation Box 437.

PARTNER QUEST. Strong man, brave, honest, fit, well read, compassionate, living on most beautiful British Columbia island, seeks woman, preferably petite, comely, warm, wise, fit, knowledgeable—of course liberal—for one last lively dance. Reply Nation Box 439.

ELDERLY, RETIRED MALE EDUCATOR, well-groomed, likes Bach, Mozart, art, architecture, crosswords, Inspector Morse. Seeks female with similar interests. Reply Nation Box 440.

MERCHANDISE

SUPPORT *THE NATION* AND OUR NATION! Shop online at www.thenationmart.com and exercise subtle and not-so-subtle dissent. Most items are union-made. Great gifts!

Talk Back Tees

Liberal quotations, aphorisms and wit on colorful, cotton tees. $10.99 each. talkbacktees.com (800) 777-9242

EXPRESS YOURSELF! Stickers, shirts, buttons, emblems and more—www.EvolveFISH.com. (800) 386-5846 for catalogue or to order now.

MERCHANDISE

FREE BUMPER STICKER. Call (800) 630-1330 or see www.fcnl.org. Friends Committee on National Legislation.

ORGANIZATIONS

ROCK HILL/FORT MILL, SOUTH CAROLINA, *Nation* discussion group forming. Contact addgroup@comporium.net.

SANTA CLARA COUNTY, CALIFORNIA, *Nation* discussion group is forming. Please call Lois at (408) 365-1286 for further information.

BRADENTON/SARASOTA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meets monthly. For further information call (941) 761-4873.

LOS ANGELES, CA, BRENTWOOD AREA. *Nation* discussion group forming. E-mail: bernlandis@verizon.net.

VALDOSTA, GA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP. E-mail Matthew, mateodega@hotmail.com.

HARTFORD DISCUSSION GROUP. They are still meeting on the first Sunday of the month between 2 and 4 PM, but they are now meeting at The Hartford Quaker Meeting House 144 S. Quaker Lane, West Hartford, CT (between Boulevard and Farmington Avenue).

JOIN THE ATLANTA *Nation* discussion group! Contact John McDonough, (770) 594-8097. jmcdono@bellsouth.net.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

***NATION* STUDENT OUTREACH:** Attention student activists! If you're involved in organizing a progressive event, lecture or film festival on your campus or in your community and would like to distribute copies of *The Nation*, please let us know by calling (212) 209-5416.

EDITOR/BOOKS & THE ARTS. *The Nation*, the national weekly magazine of politics and culture, seeks an Editor of its Books & the Arts section. Candidate must have vision, experience, commissioning skills, administrative abilities and a grasp of currents in global and US politics, history, contemporary fiction, media, music, visual arts and both high and popular culture. The position demands excellent editing skills. MINORITIES STRONGLY ENCOURAGED TO APPLY. Please send résumé, clips and a brief cover letter with salary requirements to LitEditor@thenation.com or to Peggy Suttle, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, 8th Floor, New York, NY 10003. No calls please.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

GALLERY!!! Are you seeking an extra income? Would you like to set your own work schedule? Work the hours you choose. We have the answer, the job is suitable for nineteen years above. If you are interested contact us via e-mail at: mark_artgallery@yahoo.com.

MISS YOUR KIDS? Working too much? Executive pay from home. Learn how now. www.sailingtofreedomandbeyond.com.

PSYCHOTHERAPY

SAN FRANCISCO PSYCHOTHERAPIST: treats depression, anxiety, relationship issues, crises and trauma. Consultation available. CC accepted. Paula Holt, LCSW, www.paulabranchholt.com. (415) 289-6990.

EXPERIENCED PSYCHOANALYST also working with couples and families. Approach is psychodynamic but also eclectic. San Francisco and Marin. CA-PSY11249. Kristine Pfleiderer, DMH. (415) 563-8207.

CHICAGO PSYCHOTHERAPIST, 22 years, all issues including depression, anxiety, relationships, concerns of artists, academics and students. Sliding scale, insurance. Deborah Hellerstein, LCSW, (312) 409-9516.

REAL ESTATE

SANTA FE. Progressive Realtor® seeks same in clients. Peter Kahn, Santa Fe Properties. (800) 374-2931 toll free. (505) 690-4840 mobile or peter.kahn@santafeproperties.com.

HIRE A CARING REALTOR® who reads *The Nation*. NJ licensed andrian-curshen@burgdorff.com. (201) 251-3413, (201) 248-9436.

MADRID, SPAIN, LOVELY, SUNNY, one-bedroom furnished apartment. Central. $500 week, $1,600 month. guitars@netins.net.

MARIN COUNTY, CA. Successful and progressive Realtor®, known for candor and integrity. Linda Walsh Real Estate, (415) 388-3590, lcwalsh@pacbell.net.

LEFT COAST, US. Work with The Realtor Who's on Your Side. Norma J.F. Harrison. (510) 526-3968. (866) 264-9029. NormaHa@pacbell.net.

TRAVEL/TOURS

WORLDFELLOWSHIP.ORG. White Mountains vacation destination: proudly left-wing, intergenerational, multicultural, educational. Where global justice meets nature! (603) 447-2280.

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates and Frequency Discounts: STANDARD $4.10/word, 15-word minimum = $61.50 for 1–3 insertions; PO Box, telephone numbers, web address count as two words.

Buy 1–3 runs, pay $4.10 per word
Buy 4 runs, pay $3.85 per word
Buy 5–10 runs, pay $3.70 per word
Buy 11–12 runs, pay $3.15 per word
Buy 25-46 runs, pay $2.75 per word
Buy 47 runs, pay $2.60 per word

Logos: We will print your logo and center the headline of your advertisement for an additional fee of $50/insertion B/W; $60 for color. Maximum size for a logo is 2 1/4″ wide by 1/2″ deep. EPS logo should accompany ad copy and payment.

Deadline: Tuesday, 3 PM, 10 days prior to Monday issue date.

Payment in US currency or major credit card must accompany order.

Enclosed is my check for $ _____ for _____ insertions at $ _____ / word rate.

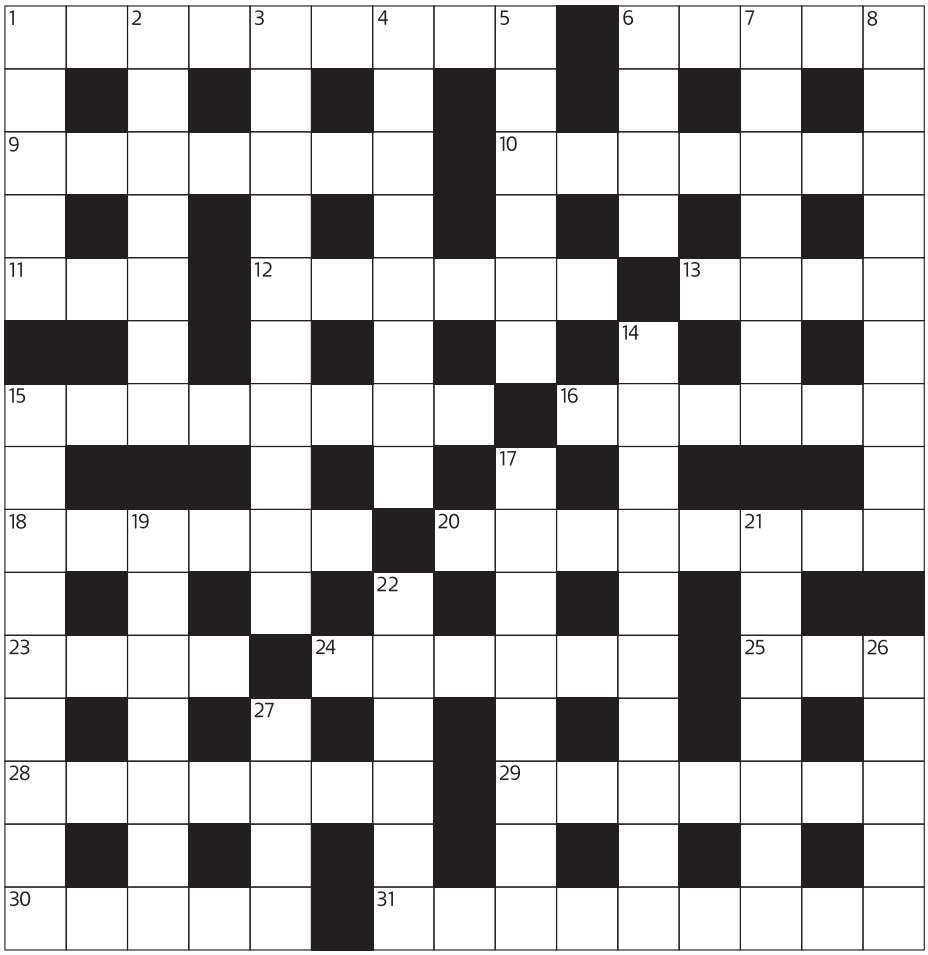
"Personals" advertisers: Be sure to include $45 for Nation Box number/forwarding service. For all ads please include your name, address and contact phone number with your ad or The Nation assumes no responsibility for typographical errors. You may fax your classifieds to us at (212) 982-9000 or e-mail leigh@thenation.com for faster service.

E-mail preferred. Attach ad, typewritten if possible.
The Nation, Classified Department, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUZZLE NO. 3088

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Like such as Captain Kidd, produces an audible puff of breath. (9)

6 and **24** A bit oversaturated, but what we drink may be put down as a listing. (5-6)

9 Take advantage of the rocky road around it when shaken up a bit. (7)

10 Locking the door and running away? (7)

11, 12 and **13** A very casual manner, typified by the armless statue of Venus. (3-10)

15 Is in the Fourth of July procession, which got lost in classic literature. (8)

16 Show up with a very quiet listening device? (6)

18 See 6 down

20, 25 and **1** down What we were told to do about the famous Texas site? (Don't forget the poplar!) (8,3,5)

23 A bad liar found in the den. (4)

24 See 6

25 See 20

28 Found in back when I have shifted gear around it, to see the country. (7)

29 It represents a lot of resistance, making me travel with the Pinafore, for example. (7)

30 Not a late example of a Civil War general. (5)

31 If I get near must I also get a shot? (9)

DOWN

1 See 20 across

2 A public relations presentation to put before a person? (7)

3 Change your appointment perhaps, concerning when the train should arrive. (10)

4 Describes a neat way to sit up and eats inside it. (8)

5 Possibly subtle way to dispense some of the property to others. (6)

6 and **18** across Describes some carpeting—point everything to point everything. (4-2-4)

7 Where three banks were distinctive at one time? (Salt served with them.) (7)

8 A school record has the general idea right in back. (9)

14 A very quiet finish takes time, but they're just hangers-on. (10)

15 It shows peevishness over a bad case of acne, but you can't say there's no let-up with its beginning! (9)

17 A small citrus tree that yields oil needs a hunk of ice when it comes to atom-smashing. (8)

19 Some claim to have been put through it, but one hears it's a real winner put in for the effect. (7)

21 One may be quite a cut-up, however dear in Paris. (7)

22 A favorite may be associated with moonlight, but not as a variable. (6)

26 Badly written poems by certain "salts." (5)

27 The weight associated with a famous fall. (4)

PUZZLED? No more cross words! See www.thenation.com/about/crossword.mhtml.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 3087

		S	C	U	T	T	L	E	B	U	T	T		
	B		U		E		O		U		A		P	
Y	O	U	R		M	U	S	I	C		S	T	A	R
	G		R		P		T		K		T		S	
P	O	L	Y	M	E	R		C	R	U	E	L	T	Y
	T		C		R		C		A				E	
S	A	Y	O	N	A	R	A		M	O	B	I	L	E
			M				U				E			
H	U	M	B	L	E		S	H	O	W	D	O	W	N
	T				V		E		V		E		I	
C	A	S	H	I	E	R		S	E	R	V	A	N	T
	H		I		N		S		R		I		I	
W	A	R	P		I	D	L	E	D		L	A	N	E
	N		P		N		U		U		E		G	
		L	O	G	G	E	R	H	E	A	D	S		

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*Introducing the world's simplest, most easy-to-use cell phone – with service as low as $10 a month**

It doesn't play games, take pictures, or give you the weather.

NEW

The Jitterbug™ developed with Samsung®.
It's the cell phone that's changing all the rules.

Available in a simple 12-button Dial Phone and an even simpler 3-button OneTouch Phone for easy access to the operator, the number of your choice, and 911.

For people like me, who want a phone that's easy to see, easy to hear, and easy to use. Over the years, cell phones have become smaller and smaller with so many complicated features. They are harder to program and harder to use. But the Jitterbug Cell Phone has simplified everything, so it's not only easy to use, it's easy to try. No crowded malls, no waiting in line, no confusing sales people, or complicated plans. Affordable and convenient cell phone service is only a toll-free phone call away.

The new Jitterbug™ Cell Phone makes calling simple!

- Available in OneTouch™ or Full Dial model
- Large, bright, easy-to-see display and buttons
- Push "Yes" to call directly from personal phone list
- Soft ear cushion and louder volume for better sound quality
- Hearing aid compatible
- Familiar dial tone confirms service
- Service as low as $10 a month*
- Access help wherever you go

Why pay for minutes you'll never use!	Simple 30 Plan	Simple 60 Plan
Monthly Price	$15.00	$20.00
Included Minutes/Month	30	60
Operator Assistance	24/7	24/7
911 Access	FREE	FREE
Long Distance Calls	No add'l charge	No add'l charge
Nationwide Coverage	Yes	Yes
Trial Period	30 days	30 days

Service as low as $10 a month and a 30-day money-back guarantee.**
If you've ever wanted the security and convenience of a cell phone, but never wanted the fancy features and minutes you don't need… Jitterbug is for you. Like me, you'll soon be telling your friends about Jitterbug. Call now!

jitterbug™

brought to you by

firstSTREET for Boomers and Beyond™

1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

See hundreds of other innovative products for *Boomers and Beyond™* at www.firstSTREETonline.com
Call 1-800-704-1211 for a Free Catalog.

Jitterbug™ Cell Phone Item# BU-4722

Call now for our lowest price.

Please mention promotional code 33460.

1-866-540-0297

www.jitterbugdirect.com

IMPORTANT CONSUMER INFORMATION: Subject to Customer Agreement, select calling plans, and credit approval. Early termination fee, other charges, and restrictions apply. Screen images simulated. Offer, coverage, and service not available everywhere. *Not including government taxes, assessment surcharges, and activation fee. This GreatCall offer is good through 12/31/07 with new phone activation. **Applies to phone and prepaid monthly service charge only, provided talk time usage is fewer than 30 minutes and phone is in like new condition. Usage charges may apply. ©2007 GreatCall, Inc. Jitterbug and GreatCall are trademarks of GreatCall, Inc. Samsung is a registered trademark of Samsung Electronics America, Inc. and its related entities.

47272 All rights reserved. © 2007 TechnoBrands®, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOSE

Introducing the Acoustic Wave® music system II.

Our best one-piece music system.

When we introduced the original Acoustic Wave® music system, *Sound & Vision* said it delivered "possibly the best-reproduced sound many people have ever heard." And the *Oregonian* reported it had "changed the way many Americans listen to music."

Today, the improved Acoustic Wave® music system II builds on our more than 40 years of industry-leading innovation to deliver even better sound. This is the best one-piece music system we've ever made, with sound that rivals large and complicated stereos. There's no stack of equipment. No tangle of wires. Just all-in-one convenience and lifelike sound.

Even better sound than its award-winning predecessor. With recently developed Bose® technologies, our engineers were able to make the acclaimed sound quality even more natural. Play your favorite vocalist – a challenging test for any audio system. Or play an acoustically demanding piece with a bass guitar or percussion. We believe you'll appreciate the quality of the sound even at volume levels approaching that of a live performance.

Shown in Graphite Gray with optional 5-CD Changer.

Use it where you like. This small system fits almost anywhere. You can move it from room to room, or take it outside. It has what you need to enjoy your music, including a built-in CD player and digital FM/AM tuner. You also can easily connect additional sources like your MP3 player or TV.

Hear it yourself risk free for 30 days. Use our Excitement Guarantee to try it in your home for 30 days. When you call, ask about adding the optional 5-CD Changer to play your music for hours – the same slim remote operates both system and changer. Also, ask about using your own major credit card to make **12 easy payments,** with no interest charges from Bose.* Compare the performance of the Acoustic Wave® music system II with large, multi-component stereos costing much more. And discover why Bose is the most respected name in sound.

FREE shipping with your order.

To order or learn more:

1-800-314-3416, ext. G7721

www.Bose.com/AWMS2

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

IN THE HOME • AROUND THE HOME • AWAY FROM HOME

*Bose payment plan available on orders of $299-$1500 paid by major credit card. Additional financing offers may be available for select products. See website for details. Down payment is 1/12 the product price plus applicable tax and shipping charges. Then, your credit card will be billed for 11 equal monthly installments with 0% APR and no interest charges from Bose. Credit card rules and interest may apply. U.S. residents only. Limit one active financing program per customer. ©2007 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. The Acoustic Wave® music system II design is also a registered trademark of Bose Corporation. Financing and free shipping offer not to be combined with other offers or applied to previous purchases, and subject to change without notice. Risk free refers to 30-day trial only and does not include return shipping. Delivery is subject to product availability. Quotes reprinted with permission: *Sound & Vision*, 3/85; Wayne Thompson, *Oregonian*, 9/10/96.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED